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PRINCESS FINDS FUN IN THAILAND, DHALLA'S BOLLYWOOD FIASCO, NEESON GOES BACK TO WORK

NEWSMAKERS

Exposed!

Lanese Zana, an actress and a candidate for Naveen Shetty's NDP, was the victim of a sabotage attempt last week when a Liberal spy volunteer sent a topless photo of her to the CBC in an attempt to discredit her. The photograph was a still taken from one episode of the lesbian-themed drama *The L Word*, in which Zana appeared in 2004. A distressed Stephen McNeil, the province's Liberal leader, promptly called her to apologize. "It was not authorized by me," he said of this violation of "political propriety." "It is not endorsed by me, and it will not be tolerated by me as leader of this party." In Ottawa, NDP ally **Dhalla**—Maoist rage isn't their chief "baiter" politics in the world—is likewise being hounded by her thugman pal Dhalla, 35, is now reportedly suing legal action to halt the distribution of a Bollywood-style film in which she starred in 2004, the year before she was elected. Dhalla claims the film spreads an anti-semitic message by getting her fist

Kangaroo region on March 27, 1879. "This is truly a unique case," said the head of the region's anti-fraud agency. "We do not usually rock grove of ID when collecting census data, but when we came to Selma Dossou, we had to check her documents and verify this information with the social services department. They confirmed her date of birth." Dossou could not be reached for comment; too shy, and, apparently, a very good memory she told the BBC, "Do you remember Core Who Is's?" When the Red Army came and when Vladimir Lenin died? Well, I do."

Enemies until the bitter end

It was almost 37 years ago that **Joe Frasier** and **Madhusudan** squared off in a fight to determine, once and for all, who was the heavyweight boxing champion of the world—but the rivalry still rages on. Frasier, who at currently just finishing the upcoming HBO documentary, *Thriller in Manila*, told the Associated Press that Ali Parkins's

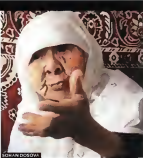


JOE FRASIER

diagnosed him with a post-traumatic stress disorder from God for his victory and his defeat in the boxing fight. "I'm sorry that he is in the way he is," Frasier said, "but I don't have too much to do with it. I want the good man alone." God judges, you know what I'm saying? We don't have the power to judge that the man has above."

A child of the 70s—the 1870s

A recent national census in Kazakhstan has led to the discovery of a national treasure, **Saba Dossou**, now believed to be the oldest woman in the world, at age 119. According to a passport issued to Dossou in early '90s, she was born in the country's



SIMON DUBOIS

of York, the youngest daughter of **Prince Andrew** and **Sarah Ferguson**, rubbed the No. 7 spot. The 19-year-old princess began giving a reputation as a hard-partying free spirit. Recent reports have found her smoking across her school's playing field and converting in tap dancing there. Currently, she is on a gap year vacation with friends, back-packing along with two Scottish friends (yep, you heard that right). In Thailand last week, the princess displayed a

plucky sense of fun despite the threat of a political coup in the nation's capital. Photographers found her frolicking on a beach in Phuket, engaging in a beach drinking game, and spilling out of a man and rips in his pants, the princess could be seen "hanging out on a young man and either kissing or blowing raspberries on his forehead."



PRINCESS EUGENIE

Deeply seeking the seal of approval

When even Vladimir Putin has come out and said hunting is a "bloody business," proponents of the Canadian tradition can be sure they have a difficult public relations challenge on their hands. Liberal MP **Scott Simpson** of New Brunswick's Liberal Party has asked **Stephen Harper** for his help in convincing U.S. President **Barack Obama** that the seal hunt is humane and socially important. Obama is on record as having expressed "outrage" over the

Canadian hunt, and a desire to put an end to it, when he was a U.S. senator in 2006. "The only thing I would say to now President Obama," said Simpson, "is hear us out before you make your final judgment."

Back to work

Laura Neeson, whose wife, actress **Natalie Richardson**, died tragically in a diving incident last month, has decided to lose his wife's life. Neeson has agreed



LAURA NEESON

Mayor missed his own victory party

Henry Stenebinder, the beloved mayor of Watford, Mo. (pop. 713), was elected in a landslide victory in a fourth-term race, even though he died back in March. The ballot had already been printed with Stenebinder's name on them when he passed away. On election day, 90 per cent of the town voted in a. A Watford resident of Watford, Stenebinder attended the town's wedding ceremony at the home

efforts to award the ceremony following a devastating flood in 2006. "I figured he'd win because he seemed to go even more popular after he died," said **Laurel County clerk Elaine Lusk**. An election mayor will be appointed until a special election can be held in April 2009.

Flight from reason

Adam Dylan Leon, 31, created a U.S. national security commission last week when he stole a single engine Cessna 441 from his flight school in Thunder Bay, Ont., and flew it across seven U.S. states before touching down outside a highway near the town of Elkhart, Mo. American author

Leon might be a terrorist, was on high alert in Madison, Wis., was evaded, and F-16 fighter jets were dispatched to shadow the rogue pilot. On Friday, Leon appeared in a St. Louis court where judges ordered a psychiatric evaluation before preliminary hearings could begin. His flight instructor said he had no idea Leon was on his way to the U.S. prison. When the judge asked Leon if he understood what was happening, he replied, "More or less."



CAROLINE KENNEDY

We're not in Camelot anymore

Papal authorities have qualified **Caroline Kennedy** from consideration for the U.S. presidency because of her pro-choice stance, according to the British newspaper *if*. Kennedy, 48, is a member of the Kennedy family, reportedly seeking to reward Kennedy for her support during the election. However, **Raymond Pless**, a former U.S. ambassador to the Vatican, told the *Boston Herald*, "It's important, it's essential that the person who represents us to the Holy See be a person who has pro-life values."

So not everyone is out for the cloth

President **Fernando Lugo**, the leftmost of Paraguay, appeared at a national television on Monday as a second round of a ship with 16-year-old **Yvonne Carrillo** that resulted in the birth of an illegitimate son. The real father was that the child, now 15, was conceived while Lugo was off a Roman Catholic bishop, and under a vow of celibacy. His admission came in the result of a legal complaint filed by Carrillo. "I assume all responsibilities having to do with the fact that I had a relationship with Yvonne Carrillo, and I recognize paternity," said Lugo, who took official leave August. The president refused to comment further, allegedly to protect the privacy of his

local zoo's acquiring of a "gay" elephant with public money. **Philo**, a 10-year-old elephant purchased by the Phoenix Zoo in western Ireland, has demonstrated a preference for the company of males, and will probably not procreate, according to local media. "We didn't pay 17 million pounds [\$14 million] for the largest elephant house in Europe to have a gay elephant live there," said **Nicholas Greig**, a zoo



PHILO THE ELEPHANT

conservative **Patterson** city councillor from the right-wing **Law and Justice** party. "We were supposed to have a child, but in 1999 pro-gay male friends over the fence how will be produced offspring?" Zoo officials say it's too early to tell what **Philo** will do since she's a female. "It's a matter of time until she's ready to mate."

Reassuring words

A Canadian ad worker who was kidnapped by armed men on the far side of the evening of April 4 is believed to be alive and in good health. According to the French news agency **Agence France Press**, a woman who identified herself as Canadian **Stephanie Jodan**, working for French and group **Aide Medicale Internationale**, connected AFP via satellite phone last weekend. She said the child's name was the son, but that she was unmarried. ■



FERNANDO LUGO

Tamil protesters, yes. George Galloway? Keep out.



ANDREW POTTER

Canadians have free speech bipolar disorder. On one side of our brain, we consider the right to freedom of assembly, conscience, and expression to be part of the constitutional heritage inherited from the British. On the other side, we recall from the sort of free speech absolutism of the United States that in an infamous case—*holla* that white men burning a cross on the lawn of a black family is a protected form of speech.

This national bickering about free speech finds direct expression in the Charter of Rights, which takes away in its first clause—"only to such reasonable limits"—the very freedoms it goes on to grant in the second. It also manifests itself in the behavior of free speech litigants like Tara Lussan, whose curriculum against Canada's notorious human rights tribunals is condemned by her long-standing publisher for being sat against anyone who says something he finds even slightly defamatory.

On the constitutional sector must have struggled a few thousand Tamil protesters, who for over a week have been marching back and forth on Wellington Street in Ottawa, yelling slogans into megaphones, hanging protest drums, and—in many citizens' great offense—waving hundreds of red flags associated with the Tamil Tigers, a group that Canada has designated a terrorist organization since 2006.

The protest began on April 7, when Ottawa's rail hour was disrupted by hundreds of Tamil flag-waving busmen and flags, calling for the Harper government to push for an immediate ceasefire in the Sri Lankan civil war (it was part of a coordinated campaign that included protests in the U.K., U.S., Australia, and Norway—a sign of the Tamils' economic desperation in the Sri Lankan military finds itself on the verge of crushing the Tigers' 25-year-long separatist rebellion).

At the protests in London, police seized a number of the Tamil flags (which characteristically depict a tiger in front of a pair of crossed rifles with a house in the background) on the grounds that they were breaching anti-terror laws that forbid the "glorification" of terrorism by carrying images representing a banned organization. Authorities also treated the protesters as illegal because it hadn't been given prior approval, and it repeatedly threatened arrest unless the protesters refused to disperse.

So Lanka's high commissioner to Canada, Daya Perera, was keen to use our government

police were quick to declare that there were simply no grounds for the police to take any action against people waving the flags, and once the protest had moved off the street and onto the sidewalk, there was nothing remotely illegal about the gathering at all.

That position was soundly endorsed by Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon. At a press conference last Thursday, he effectively told high commissioner Perera to get stuffed, saying the federal government had no intention of cracking down on the protesters. "It's not up to me to put an end to protest. People are allowed to protest in Canada," he said, adding for good measure: "We live in a democracy."

It is gratifying to hear such straightforward and unequivocal defense of Canada's democratic liberties. It would be far more concerning, though, if our officials had not just gone so far as to pick up the British MP George Galloway from coming here to speak on the grounds that his efforts raising funds for humanitarian relief in Gaza made him some sort of security threat.

It makes one suspect that the equality and toler-

If these protesters were, say, Palestinians in support of Hamas, we'd be far less tolerant

adopt a similar position toward both the Tamil flag and the protesters in general. "I can't see how the Canadian government can take the position that it is breaching of expression," he told reporters. "It'd like to see the government acting properly in this regard and stopping these demonstrations that are, I think, a bane on the citizens of Ottawa."

His concern for our municipal conflict is appreciated, but unfortunately for Perera, Canada is not the U.K., and our anti-terror legislation doesn't forbid the sort of flag-waving that could count as glorifying terror. The closest law that could conceivably apply is a provision that prohibits "intoxicating" actions, but waving placards demanding an end to a civil war hardly qualifies. A House of Commons committee that recently re-examined our anti-terror law rejected the idea of instituting an anti-glorification ban similar to the U.K.'s, but the idea was dropped because it would almost certainly fail a constitutional challenge under the Charter. That's why both the RCMP and the Ottawa

police were quick to declare that there were simply no grounds for the police to take any action against people waving the flags, and once the protest had moved off the street and onto the sidewalk, there was nothing remotely illegal about the gathering at all.

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ON THE WEB For more Andrew Potter, visit his blog at www.macleans.ca/andrewpotter/

PHOTO: GARY HANCOCK

NATIONAL

MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON THE LULULEMON CABINET MINISTER AND THE EXERCISE-CHALLENGED MP

A) ONCE A DAY? B)

ONCE A DECADE? 7777?

When the Canadian Medical Association was visiting the Hill, many MPs were given a health evaluation. "Do you exercise once a day?" Montreal Liberal MP Irene Ouellet was asked. "No," he replied. "Once a week?" Again, he replied. "So the question got to once a month, the champion of human rights who has served as counsel for such former political prisoners as Nelson Mandela explained he just doesn't have time for exercise. Cape Breton Liberal MP Mark Rykaczuk noted many MPs, including him, were given judo classes to incentive how much they walked in a day. How effective they'll be remains to be seen. Biting down frustrated for Capital Diary that just by sharing the exercise little, the number goes up.

PEARSON DELIVERS LUCKYBREAD AID

Liberal MP Glen Pearson helps people in need. He has made huge aid efforts for Darfur refugees and has even adopted three children from war-torn Sudan: a son, Amir Ray, 11, and eight-year-old twins Aliyah Ray and Ashen Ray (his last name is from Pearson's wife, Jane Kay, who is from a family of girl girls, she wanted the family name cut out said). When Capital Diary informed Pearson that Ben Oda, minister of international cooperation, had made lucky bread studios in her Government desk, Pearson took action. He sent Oda two envelopes during question period. The first was a UN proposal for 16 million to help Darfur refugees. Oda smiled at Pearson when she opened said when she opened the second envelope she heard her laughing—it was two packs of Twinkies. Oda owes me to thank Pearson for the Twinkies.



and asked them the would look at the UN report. When Pearson was first elected, he asked the Conservative government for 16 million to help refugees from Darfur. It gave 11 million out of 16 million. He says he sent these are 60,000 new refugees that need money. "When I see people in need of food, I need to deliver it," Pearson told Capital Diary. One Twinkie pack was for Oda, the other for his house.

LULULEMON LISA

During a year, Minister of Inter-governmental Affairs Josée

Vernier joked out to her fellow cabinet minister Lisa Raitt that Raitt had a tag sticking out of her clothes. And not just any tag. "You're wearing Lululemon!" Vernier exclaimed. Raitt had a flight right after the vote and had wanted to be comfortable in her yoga-inspired dress. Raitt now joins the ranks of the late Chuck Cadman and former Conservative MP Myron Thompson who also brought casual wear to the House by sporting jeans.

THE POWER OF THREE COOKIES

President Barack Obama's inaugural party was on Ottawa's ByWard Market has taken turned it into a social version of the British at the Close. The Montreal ice Province, before they got their chance to help shaped cookies, has a huge display of them with a sign reading Obama's grandma, they are selling like hotcakes. And when the Green called out Obama, I still bought a lot for her grandma one as they introduced Canadian Mission Bakery manager, Sherry Gosselin, who's making 400 cookies a day. Per Obama, they sold maybe 1000 a day. The price of the shortbread cookies "made from authentic Italian recipe" remains the same. \$1.25 plus tax is in the market, often have come from the for shops and small restaurants in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, and some Canadian government agencies in the capital have ordered their regular cookie orders to the "Obama cookies." Even a government agency in Washington (it wouldn't identify itself) has placed an order. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa news, visit www.cbc.ca/ottawacolumn or www.ottawacolumn.com



'I'm a woman of 62. That is just what happens. I don't yet think I'm illegal as a person because I'm over a certain age.'

AUTHOR SUSIE ORBACH TALKS TO ANNE KINGSTON ABOUT THE RETOUCHING OF KIDS' SCHOOL PICS, THE OVERHYPED WEIGHT EPIDEMIC—AND THE OBAMAS

Q You wrote that in a *Panorama* issue in 2008. Now, in *Bodyline*, you discuss how the diet, Western body to such a global brand, women in South Korea recently undergo surgery to make their *retro* appear more Caucasian. What new trend do you see?

A I find it quite interesting: what goes on under the skin. Throughout *Bodyline* and the Middle East there's an external view that is one thing; and then an internal view around lingerie and fashion, which is a representation of the Western body, wear under the skin.

Q What do you see fueling our body and size obsession?

A At all of things. There's the commercialization of the body by the industries that make incredible profits on the back of body obsession—the diet and the beauty and the cosmetic surgery markets, and sections of the food industry. There's the intensification of visual culture in a way that has an impact on everybody's relationship to their selves and the way in which it has come to be represented through the body.

Q You refer to the diet and beauty industry as "mechanics of body hatred."

A Yes. My fear and concern increases with every year, as I see the evidence of more and more girls—and increasingly boys—captured by the notion that there is something wrong with their bodies. There was a new program

last week in England showing 10-year-old girls, one year old girls, one of them felt that they were *not* okay size. They have already absorbed this idea that they have to *own* their bodies, that they should mimic themselves to what's generally in the cultural conversation and be doing it.

Q You wrote about the importance of early development in establishing healthy body image. Yet you also write about 11-year-old girls in *Fit* developing eating disorders after TV was introduced in 1995. How can parents protect?

A What I'm trying to put together is how visual culture is impacting everybody so the preoccupation with the body has infiltrated everybody's experience. So not only are they coming about their own bodies but they're also absorbing about the bodies of their friends—whether they're aware of it or not. You just have to everything as a conversation of norms. That's not to blame parents; they're transmitters of what goes on in the culture, and they want the best for their babies. But inadvertently that's what's happening.

Q You're critical of the focus on the so-called obesity epidemic.

A Absolutely. It's crucial what would have been considered troubled eating 30 years ago, but which has now become the norm for many people.

Q How do you define "troubled"?

A Eating when you're not hungry, compulsive eating, girls not eating during the week but only eating on the weekends. It's a

As one of the projects I'm working on is at a drama school [in the U.K.] where they're having a real problem with young actors who don't even like character roles, because they need to have glamour shots [for their publicity].

Q: It's affecting even vocational where looks aren't even important. Are being a writer

It's like "What's the author photo like?" which is absolutely ridiculous. It's also happening in classical music, where there's talk about "What happened to the great operatic voices?" Well, they don't come out of small frames.

Q: You wrote about how weight has become linked with morality. What do you make of the fascination with celebrity weight gain as we saw recently with Jessica Simpson?

A: Celebrities have become stand-ins for all sorts of cultural conversations. The aspiration, particularly for young people, is to have *face* and dual kind of recognition, and they cannot imagine that if you had it that you would be judged enough with all these people looking after you—not to look perfect the whole time. But at the same time they also hate and feel fairness at this kind of strategy. So they also admit it when people are revealed to not be able to manage to maintain that. We call it "celebrity marking" in England.

Q: You wrote about the anxiety of Britney Spears' post-pregnancy body as revealing of the pressures on women who've given birth.

A: Yes, it's as though sexuality is there for others, rather than for the pregnancy itself as a result of sexuality. I think people are very confused about the maternal and the sexual and the reproductive. And what you're offered as a crime is something that's so far from real, polished and our reality, it's morally to do with the events that happen between people. And we forget that becoming a mother is something that happens between a parent and a child. In France, for example, mother is an official exercise immediately to assure the suppleness of their vaginal walls. Now, we might think that's okay, but the ideology is that this is about the provision of your sexual status in your room, when in me the critical factor is you've just had a baby. And you might actually want the supporting tissue for your child, and for yourself.

Q: Now doctors how technology like Photo shop create artificial standards for one can achieve. One of the most troubling examples is children's school photos now being retouched. How common is that?

A: It's pervasive and really, really chilling. You'd have no history of who you actually were.

Q: You live in England but spend time in America. Do you see a difference between the two cultures when it comes to body acceptance?

A: I think England is still more ideal. You can do fashion in different looks, different sizes. It's more in your face, more provocative. It's slightly less confident than the United States.

Q: What do you make of the obsession with Michelle Obama's body, particularly the focus on her exposing her arse?

A: We didn't concentrate on that so much in England. But you have to wonder who the focus on her hips and thighs was a cover for the concern that she's overfilled. Or was it a cover for saying she's so accomplished?

Q: Could you say she's a positive example of female body as a brand?

A: I think what's important is that they both have this incredible physical presence that's very centered and commanding but also very yielding. What was interesting in England was the way that she was with the girls when she went to visit a school. She articulated a lot of hope for them, and she hugged whoever wanted to be hugged and it was very, very moving. There was something about her assurance in her own physicality, very much like [Barack] Obama's.

Q: Do you see them as changing cultural imagery toward beauty?

A: Absolutely. It's not possible to have Michelle and Barack Obama on the international stage without it having an impact. I expect the artists, the art directors, the creatives to be able to play with these ideas and at least give us things that are aesthetic. I think it should really broaden diversity.

Q: We're undergoing a huge economic shift currently on which Western hegemony is under assault. Do you think the economic downturn could embolden the whole idea of thinner and class?

A: That's an interesting question. I think the problem is that thin and class have achieved a sort of super class in it's so though you can maintain everything by having this body but that may very well be challenged because capitalism in the success model has been shown to be highly problematic. There's an opportunity to rethink issues like the putting the broken pieces back together with the same old system.

Q: Yet we're also seeing cosmetic surgery packages as offering a competitive edge for an aging population in the job market.

A: It's interesting, because you could see the ideology could be framed in terms of, "We've got all these skills we don't want to lose from people who are really highly skilled, but let's find a way to encourage them to work." Right? There are many different ways that this could be marketed, but the fact is that it's marketed

for another industry that needs more and more bodies to go through it.

Q: Your book delivers the message that the body should be the place to live, rather than a consistent mess project. But you also tell the story about going to a psychiatrist's office for the first time in a long time where you were the only one who hasn't had work done. Do you feel pressure?

A: I'm not a babe, I'm an older woman. I try to be curious about the fact that I, like everybody else, think the latest numbers might make a difference, or wouldn't it be nice if I didn't have this step. But the next stage is to say "Why not be content by it, just even with your awareness you are like everybody else and are pulled to think that there is some solution." Then I go back to ask myself "What's the problem that requires this solution?" And the problem is none.



"Thin and class have achieved a sort of super-class. You can surmount everything by having this body."

thing that I would not want to conceptualize as a problem, which is that it's a woman of 62. And that isn't a problem, that's just what happens. And you, I am aging, and my life is just damn amazing. I don't yet think I'm ill as a person because I'm over a certain age.

Q: You sound like a lovely candidate for cosmetic surgery.

A: [Laughs] I do, don't I?

Q: Yes, it's supposed to be the answer.

A: Yes. They really don't want me in their ads! ■

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THE FIUD

Two titans, bad blood, and a growing rift that threatens to divide the Conservative party

BY PAUL WELLS

The thing about the fight that Stephen Harper has managed to pick with Brian Mulroney, the paradox that elevates it beyond a few days' bad blood is (a) the sort of event that makes party members nod or about the boss's judgement, is that Harper was only doing what he has always done so well.

For as long as he has been in politics, Harper has managed, at important moments, to a few forensic techniques to manage the public agenda. Selective leaks, reporters' talking stories outside attempts to distort the press and public (mis)reporting events. Wedge issues chosen well enough to ram ally against ally.

It's what he does. Except he used to do it to his opponents.

This time he did it to Mulroney—the patriarch of one of Harper's Conservative's core support groups and a still formidable political street fighter who, even now, probably has more clout, on his own, than Harper does.

It was Harper's skill, acting on the behalf of days on end, who led the way to reports recently that Mulroney had cut his links to the party. With the Old Guard consensus into Mulroney's heart with Kathleen Schellinger looking, it was a transparent bid to get across between the Prime Minister and his predecessor. Mulroney and his loyalists took the bait and the inside and pushed back—hard. Pretty soon, two decades' worth of bad blood was on public display. And Harper, who could use some good luck these days, had some of the other kind on his hands.

Brian Mulroney was making people hurt for crossing him when Stephen Harper was still as short as a pin. So one question Ottawa Conservatives were asking, when he became two-week debate over Mulroney's ministerial status finally calmed down, was what

on earth got into Harper?

John Stein is no Conservative. He's a long-time New Democrat who served as Bob Rae's chief of staff when Rae was Ontario's premier. But Stein does act as Mulroney's paid spokesman, a position that has kept him busy while the Old Guard consensus prepared to envisage Mulroney's dealings with Schellinger. Here's what Stein makes of the Mulroney membership landslide: First, "what should have been a very positive work for the government," because Harper was extending a hand of friendship across oceans, "hasn't been."

"Secondly, Mr. Mulroney's manner, legacy and record of achievement has been revealed in a mostly positive manner, at a time when one couldn't have anticipated that."

"From the perspective of the world beyond, it provides a rather sad and gloomy view how fragile the bonds of partisan loyalty remain within the Conservative party."

When Canadian conservatives set aside their differences to build broad coalitions, they prosper and govern. One measure of the difficulty of that task is that they have so rarely governed. In the past half-century, only Harper, Mulroney and John Diefenbaker have won more than one national election. For much of this one Mulroney and Harper have incarnated, sometimes in the branch, the importance of conservative loyalty. Where they were on the same side, Conservatives were in power. Where they weren't, they weren't.

Harper was a campus political geek at the University of Calgary when Mulroney was his boss's first minister in 1984. For Harper, an Ontario-born former Liberal who had abandoned his old party out of disillusionment with Prime Trudeau's National Energy Program, Mulroney's election must have

seemed like a new dawn. He went to Ottawa to work for Calgary West NDP Jim Hancock. But Mulroney took almost two years to roll back the NEP. By then Harper had moved to Calgary, disgusted with the glib handling and consequences of life in Mulroney's Ottawa.

By 1987 Harper was at the founding convention of new western protest movements, the Reform party. He became Province Manning's policy director and ran twice against Mulroney, finally losing in 1993. The same year Mulroney was elected as Reform and the Bloc Québécois threatened the surprisingly rapid disintegration of the Mulroney coalition.

Even at that early stage Harper's relationship to the older man was complex. Certainly he harboured no illusions about Mulroney's popularity. "The man has a genius and a credibility problem that is so large that it's tough for voters to support him even when he does things that may benefit their region or benefit them personally," Harper told a reporter in 1994. "He really is an enigma."

And yet Harper was reluctant to attack Mulroney personally in the political arena. With political master Tom Flanagan, Harper persuaded Manning to run against the constitutional amendments in the Charlottetown accord in 1992. But they also resisted when Manning wanted to label the accord the "Mulroney deal." That was deep. Harper and Flanagan argued. Better to argue as substance.

The same ability to coolly gauge Mulroney's strengths and weaknesses came in handy when Harper became the leader of the Canadian Alliance in 2000. On May 16 of that year, he made his maiden speech as leader of the Opposition in the Commons. The occasion was a debate over an Alliance motion on lander trade. Mannor was out of nowhere, Harper announced. "When someone is United States Canada relations, the government has much to learn from former prime minister Brian Mulroney. Under Mr. Mulroney, Canada-United States relations were infinitely better than they are now." A Maclean's

reporter quipped Harper afterward about the speech. "Finally," Harper said, "I'm making a political point."

Seventeen months later Harper renewed a deal with the new Progressive Conservative leader, Peter Mackay, toward down their own parties as legal entities and launch a newly incorporated Conservative Party of Canada. Mulroney was a key behind-the-scenes player in ousting Progressive Conservatives to sit down with the Alliance. But he was no great admirer of Harper. With former Ontario premier Mike Harris, Mulroney was a more than secret broker of millions more or parts between Mulroney and the race to lead the new party.

Still, Conservatives heard Harper a first-hand victory over Stinson and Tony Clement. It began to seem a wise choice. Harper made Mulroney his deputy leader, and members of both parties into an effective party machinery, and all but a party official in which nobody was allowed to carry old grudges.

The figure of Brian Mulroney loomed large in Harper's calculations in those early days of consolidation. "At the very last Canadian Alliance caucus meeting," one Harper insider recalls, "Stephen said, 'We're going to be building a party with people who resent Brian Mulroney. You need to forget everything you've been saying about him for years. And you need to know that right now, Peter Mackay's the closest man telling them the same thing about Peter Manning.'"

Amazingly, Mulroney became a close Harper adviser and confidant. They spoke on the phone all the time. Mackay's election, a Mulroney-appointed senator who used as his unfettered advocate on Parliament Hill, went on the campaign bus for Harper's victorious 2006 campaign.

And they all would have lived happily ever after—except Conservatives almost never get to do that. Do they? Every once in a while, old tensions would resurface. During the party's first formal contest, in Montreal, in 2005, a debate over delegate rules for future conventions pitted former Alliance members against former Progressive Conservatives. The former outnumbered the latter 10 to 1. Peter Mackay threw a strategic tantrum, telling reporters, "This party is in real jeopardy, in my view." Harper looked a little over and, days later, took Mackay and Mulroney Stinson into his office to berate them for stirring the party's dirty laundry in public. The incident directly to Stinson's departure from the party.

But none of that mattered much as long as it involved temporary tensions and minor characters. The sign of Mulroney's dealings with Schellinger showed another of those rules





MALROONEY asked for a full public inquiry into the allegations by Schreiber (right). Besides: Harcourt with Stephen Harper

Harper introduced an independent review of Schreiber's allegations. Malrooney said that wasn't enough and called for a full public inquiry. "It's time we put this issue to rest, once and for all," Harper told Malrooney at his word and announced what would eventually become, in the fall of the same year, the Oakeshott Commission. At a news conference announcing the commission, quite unprompted by reporters, Harper went a step further and put the ties that connected the two prime ministers.

"I think it will be important on me and also upon members of the government not to have dealings with Mr. Malrooney until this

The PMO sent out a new set of talking points: play down the rift, refuse to talk

issue is resolved," Harper said.

This was something new. "It put a suggestion of paranoia into your mind," says L. Ian MacDonald, a Montreal political journalist who served for years as Malrooney's communications director, wrote in his *Gazette* column. Harper's hands-off Malrooney editor, MacDonald wrote, "has created serious ripples in the old Tory nest this week, especially in Quebec, where Malrooney is held in high regard."

A year later Harper won re-election, no thanks to Quebec, where his government's cuts to arts funding sparked a truly formidable voter backlash. Facing his own re-election campaign, Premier Jean Charest joined the criticism rather than defend Harper. In MacDonald's *Gazette* column and others in Quebec newspapers, the theory spread that if Harper had kept lines of communication open to Malrooney, he wouldn't have been so vulnerable in Quebec.

Three days before Christmas 2008, Harper named 16 new Conservative ministers. One was Irving Gosselin, the party's chief fundraiser. Shortly after the New Year, Gosselin took a phone call from Malrooney.

"They had a nice long chat," Robin Sears recalls. Mostly Malrooney wanted to congratulate Gosselin on leading a \$500,000 drive. "I'm, being a good fundraiser, asked Mr. Malrooney whether he wanted to make his Leader's Circle donation."

"The Leader's Circle is the list of top Conservative party donors," Mr. Malrooney said. "That's a great idea, I'm, but as you know, they won't talk to me, so I don't think I'm in the Leader's Circle anymore." "He added, according to Sears, that

he would be happy to keep donating to Conservative party candidates he knew. Elections Canada records show that Sears and Mills Malrooney have donated almost \$15,000 to the party and individual candidates since the 1994 election.

Now the thing to remember about Malrooney's call to Gosselin is that it took place in January. And nobody heard anything about it until March 30 and 31, when reporters from at least three Ottawa news bureaus heard about it from officials in the Conservative party and the Harper government.

What happened in the meantime?

Clumsy night in the story that ran in *Can West* newspapers on Sunday, March 29. "Malrooney's reputation, legacy at stake as inquiry set to begin." It's an "understatement to say the stakes are high for Mr. Malrooney," the story said, adding Schreiber's claim to have evidence of "the biggest political scandal in the history of Canada."

Each Monday morning at the Langview headquarters of the Prime Minister's senior staff, Jean Byrnes, the director of issues management, reports to a group including the chief of staff, Guy Grosse, and the communications director, Kelly Tremblay. Byrnes's role is to identify issues or coming events that might present political hazard or opportunity during the week ahead. The meetings start at 7:30 a.m., Harper starts around 8, if he can, or calls in if he is away. On this day he was in New York City, but it is impossible to know whether he called in to the March 30 meeting; in recent days, his office has stopped taking questions about Harper's squabble with Malrooney.

Funny, they were a lot more chatty when that began. By March 31, a day after the senior staff meeting, three Ottawa news bureaus had been approached by PMO-political staffs with the info but nobody's heard "news" that Malrooney had asked to be stricken from Conservative party lists. And also that he had let his membership in the party lapse in 2006.

Tom Clark was the first with the news on CTV Newsline. Robin Sears' phone rang minutes later. "I got a call from the CBC saying CTV had a story saying, quote, 'Mr. Malrooney has stepped up his membership card in frustration at the conduct of the Oakeshott inquiry.' Did I have any comment? I said I don't know anything about that, let me check."

Sears called Clark, who confirmed that was what he'd been told "by the PMO." Then he called Malrooney, who took a little flack. A Monday evening dinner with Mills at Fort Laurierdale, P.E.I., had turned into a two-day hospital stay with food poisoning. Sears asked Malrooney whether he had come up his party

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and end the party here."

"I guess my job is to deliver a few unpleasant items," Sears says, resuming the conversation. Mulroney "said, 'Just tell him that I am a member of the Conservative party and I will be one till the day I die.'"

By Tuesday night the story was leading the cable newscasts. The PMO sent "talking points" to MPs and staff, urging them to divert reporters' questions to the PMO. Those who did call were informed, cheerfully but off the record, that Mulroney had taken it upon himself to sever ties with the party.

Heading into Wednesday's caucus meeting, several MPs disagreed. "He is a member of the party, there's no doubt," Mackay told reporters. Jean-Pierre Blackburn added: "For me he will be a Conservative forever, and I'm sure that's what he feels."

Harper enforces discipline and secrecy

Harper couldn't show the big guy a little respect. Harper said to bring that he could "take a punch," but those days are over. At a news conference in New Brunswick, he rose to Ignatieff's bait.

"Mr. Ignatieff and the Liberal party—when this matter first broke—were practically demanding that I throw Mr. Mulroney on prime without a trial. Now they are out there pretending that somehow they are his best friends," he said.

"I think what Canadians will see is that when it comes to a very difficult issue of government conduct and government ethics, this government has behaved responsibly and the other leader has absolutely no moral compass when it comes to dealing with this kind of a matter."

No moral compass. Check. Hey, you Mulroney still a party member? "I can't address

Sears said, dispassionately.

Don Platt, the Conservative party press ideologue, was more categorical. Mulroney had a membership during the calendar year 2006, and when it lapsed at the end of that year he didn't buy a new annual card. Nor has he since.

Could Mulroney be a "member for life"? Perhaps he was in the Progressive Conservative party, Platt said. But that party ceased to exist in 2003. The new Conservative party doesn't offer lifetime memberships.

By this point in the tale, Don Platt is in no mood to dig his heels in. "If Mr. Mulroney says he is a Conservative for life, that's his deal, so am I. Whether someone is a party member doesn't, in any case, affect whether they are a Conservative or not."

Cause again? Does Mulroney have the card he needs to participate in party activities? No, Platt said. But if he wanted to, he would simply purchase a membership. It, far as, a president of the party, certainly consider him a Conservative for life. But that doesn't mean he has a party "membership."

Cut it as read. What remains, as so often these days, is a sort of question about Stephen Harper's political judgment.

It is worth emphasizing that he used to keep people on the payroll to question his judgment. Sources say that the voices that could most reliably be heard at Monday's caucus were those of the old Progressive Conservative hands. In the past years, all have been replaced.

One former PMO staffer calls the replacements—Giorno, Scovell, Lyons—"chameleon" for Harper. Giorno, an Ontario journalist who became Mike Harris's chief of staff after Harris had won his last election as premier, joined Harper with a mandate to make everything "more political." He has certainly done that.

And with what results? In September Harper lost a majority because his coalition staff had misinterpreted the reactions in Quebec to cuts in arts funding. In November Harper introduced an economic update that led, via a hair-raising parliamentary crisis, to the unexpected cancellation of Michael Ignatieff as Liberal leader. Now Harper has managed to split his own party. The man who was his job by uniting friends and dividing foes has now spent a calendar year doing the opposite. There is one man in Canada who knows better than any why that's dumb. But Stephen Harper no longer takes his calls. ■

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on his party's weekly caucus discussions. But Harper was in Europe, and in his absence the caucus's focus turned around the Mulroney question. Days later they were asked to read a New York Times account of their discussion in a Canadian Press report from Alexander Paterson. Who was breaking caucus secrecy?

Just before midnight on Saturday night, with the story now five days old and the CP story sure to give it legs, the PMO sent out a new set of talking points: play down the rift, refuse to talk, take the air out of the story. Somebody leaked the talking points to CTV reporter Bob Pfeiffer, who read them live on the air.

On Monday Michael Ignatieff, the new Liberal leader, got into the act. He said he had telephoned Mulroney to wish him a happy 79th birthday and that he was sorry

'Just tell him I am a party member and will be one till I die'

him about it. I don't honestly know the source," Harper said, some days after his own staff had started telling reporters Mulroney wasn't a member. "I've been reading and hearing different things."

And with that, the story grafted to a halt, at least officially. It's a measure of the seriousness in this debate that Mulroney's membership status could be debated for two weeks without being settled categorically. Is Mulroney a party member? "I confess I don't know where the fact lies in this thing,"



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Let us watch what we want

The best way to save the TV networks? Get rid of CanCon quotas.



ANDREW COYNE

If Canadian broadcast were capable of producing a decent drama, this would have the makings of a pretty good pilot. "In a world turned upside down... in a world where the rules are in flux... the name of the game is survival. One man has the power... to decide who lives, who dies, and who pays. They call him... *The Conqueror*."

Naturally I'm referring to the industry's own abundant troubles. By now you will have heard and read a gross deal of the losses the networks are suffering, the jobs that have been cut, the stations that have been closed. And, these being broadcasters and this being Canada, it will have been impressed upon you that the solution to the industry's woes lies in the hands of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, and its chairman, Konrad von Finckhausen.

For his part, the chairman has been sympathetic. The industry's business model, he declared in an interview, is "broken," torn apart by the combined destructive force of the global economic downturn, the Internet

ration of the audience among competing channels, and the rise of the Internet. He has promised to respond with what the commission routinely regards as quite solid support. Special hearings are promised for later this month, at which the broadcom will be awarded temporary licenses on one-year terms instead of the small seven-*placably* enough, since it's not clear any of them will be around much longer than that. Indeed, at least one, Comcast/Globel, may not even make it as far as the hearings. Further hearings are scheduled for this summer to set the terms of license for the longer run, with yet a third set of hearings next April to focus on... who's who's left.

But it's a brave new world in revolutionary times. As the commissioner has observed, the times means "we have an opportunity and an obligation to rethink our traditional assumptions." It is time, he said, to step forward with "bold and creative ideas." So far, he has indicated more money from the government—a new \$150 million fund, perhaps, on top of the \$60 million Local Programming Improvement Fund, on top of the \$185 million Canadian Television Fund, etc.—or better yet, more money from the cable and satellite industries, for carrying their signals free of charge, in its' needs on the table.

In the spirit of free inquiry and blue-sky thinking, then, allow me to make a truly radical suggestion: let breadwinners show con-

grants that people want to watch. I know that's a lot to digest, but what the hell: while we're at it, let them charge the cable companies for their signals if they like—but let the cablecos choose whether they wish to carry them. And let consumers decide whether they wish to subscribe to them.

In place of the tight control of regulation in which the industry is currently confined, where consumers must pay for channels the cable companies must carry showing content the broadcasters must make—a vast, real-time system for transferring income from consumers via the carriers to the broadcasters to television producers—just like viewers watch what they want to watch, broadcasters show what they want to show, cable and satellite providers carry what is their source to carry.

Ohay, my steps? Not now. Let's just deal with Canadian content quotas. If the industry's crisis is as existential as everyone says it is, and if we're as liberalized to rethink traditional assumptions as the commitment says we are, then it is worth discussing whether the industry should still be required to devote 60 per cent of its broadcast air, and 50 per cent of its operating schedule, to Canadian programming. To be sure, the industry has many other issues on its plate than just CanCon. But the constraint is clearly behind the regulations: are we better broadcasters, given a chance, would we rather show other programs—because viewers, even a choice, say,

richer, switch other programs. And to the extent that broadcasters are prevented from showing the programs viewers would prefer to watch in favour of the programs the commission would prefer they show, that's a cost to the broadcaster—a point von Finckenstein has conceded by offering to temporarily relax the requirements at this month's licence hearings.

It's clear that, nearly 50 years after they were first introduced, *Carson* regulations remain an integral part of the common-sense voice for broadcasting's future. Even the advent of the Internet, and the blurring of the line between conventional TV and "new media," has only prompted it to mull about regulating the Net. This, despite the policy's enduring failure even to define what it is trying to achieve, let alone actually achieve it.

We all know the reasons without comment, quotas, and similar regulations (designed to protect Canada's "cultural sovereignty," Canada would be uncompled with foreign cultural products. Regulations are required to make "space" for Canadian content, to ensure Canadians can "sell ourselves our own stories."

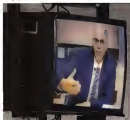
In all those terrible past stages, if you don't step in upholds all the assumptions, hidden truths among others, that it is possible to define such any coherence what is "Canadian" and what is "life sign" because that American culture imposed upon Canadians, rather than something they freely choose; that their most great differences between the two countries, that warring American TV will trade them, that there would be terrible consequences if it did, and that there is more public purpose in provoking it.

But in fact none of it is true. For all the seeming objectivity of the CRIC's complex formulae for determining if a program is Canadian, they are based on a series of subjective judgments and valuations: How many of which normal citizens present are Canadian, what proportions of production costs are incurred in Canada, and so on. Even as simple a matter as the rule that the producers must be Canadian is fraught with difficulty. Canadian-born on-screen, citizenship, or both? Suppose a corporation is involved: Is the nationality of the owners what counts? Or the location of the head office? What if that corporation is a subsidiary of another corporation? If it sounds like I'm spinning webs, well that is in fact exactly this process.

that resulted in Universal Studios being classed as a Canadian corporation because it was owned by (New York-based) Seagram, and because Seagram was controlled by the Broer/roos family.

Even if we could find our way through any of this, we come up against the reality that much of what counts in CanCon amounts to repackaging foreign programs (Canadian film) or concentrating on foreign celebrities (all these interchangeable Euro-American "new" programs) or performing in a foreign show (Country Music Television, for example). Or else it is produced for export to the U.S.—*7-Point*, *Seagay* SC-1, it's long list—and comically failed to even gain domestic "Canadian" status. How does that connect?

MUCH OF WHAT COUNTS AS CANADIAN CONTENT AMOUNTS TO REPACKAGED FOREIGN PROGRAMS



"telling ourselves our own stories." For that matter, much of the "foreign" programming from which we are to be protected is produced, written or acted by Canadians working abroad. Aren't they telling Canadians

It may be true that they have left Canada to work in New York, or Hollywood, and perhaps that's a shame. But it's just as true of artists from Alabama, or Nebraska. Are the people who like *archaisms* not just as "sweet" as *Consider* indeed, the cultural differences within each country are at least as great as those between them. Research by the Pew Center, for example, has found broad agreement on social values between English Canadians and people in much of the United States. The really sharp divisions from the continental connection are to be found within our mother's, Quebec and the South.

Surveys, over time, three different ways were

to fade. Would that be a tragedy? The point of protecting Canadians (as opposed to Canadian television producers) from being flooded with imported programming is presumably that such programming, being alien to our way of life, cannot speak to us with the same resonance. But were our differences to disappear, that objection would surely disappear with it. Assimilation is in that regard its own defence.

If that sounds harsh, consider that this is what happens all the time: as immigrants bring change, and are changed by the receiving population, as new generations replace the old, with each technological revolution. On consider a more fundamental paradox: a big part of the Canadian identity we are supposed to protect from the influx of American television was *not* formed by Americans at all. That's where we are—the people who watch another people's television.

Culures are not historically sealed boxes, or frozen in time: they are perpetually housing-wars, metropolitanities, combining and combining with promiscuous disregard for political projects. The rationalist Canadian TV producer who adopts the language of omniscience, talking of the necessity of protectionism because of the artificiality of our market, overlooks one thing: what is "our" market? Canada? Or, as our burgeoning export trade suggests, the world?

Or suppose we accept their point that national markets, and national differences, are what count. Does that not still undercut their complaint—that American producers, by virtue of the economies of scale they enjoy, enjoy a prohibitive price advantage? For it is only useful to compare the price of things that are essentially unexchangeable, substitutes for one another. And the whole premise of the exercise is that Canadian and American programs are not substitutes, but profoundly different—apples and oranges, and turnip speaking.

To put the matter another way, some forms of cultural expression, like news, are specific of interest only to the people in a particular place and time—and as such have no foreign competitors. Others, like actor/drama, speak to the universal, to people in all places and times—and as such are in no doubt on par with their foreign competitors. In neither case is *relevance* the issue. www.fox.com

ConCon, in short, never had much power to it. For a long while, it was something the broadsheets could put up with, even if it meant the rest of us had to suffer through *The Trouble With Tracy* and similar outages. But now it's a cost they cannot bear. In time this show will cancel itself. ■

B.C. tries to stop Lions Gate suicides

BY KEN HANCOCK • Vancouver's Lions Gate and San Francisco's Golden Gate bridges—despite, yes, an atrocious piece of form and function—have much in common. The 2.7-km-long Golden Gate opened in 1937 and the 1.8-km Lions Gate, a year later. Both civic icons are critical commuter links for vehicles, cyclists and pedestrians. Both have cable suspended decks high above busy water ways—and therefore their tragic fates. Both bridges are magnets for the suicidal.

A fall from either bridge is almost always fatal. The Lions Gate has 61 in excess above Burned Island, the Golden Gate has 63 so many enough for a jumper to hit the water at 118 km/h. Preventing such suicides has been a much studied challenge for both communities. This month, after years of maddling and debate, due to B.C. government activated via "crisis hotline phones" on the Lions Gate. The yellow phone boxes connect to a general assistance number to report accidents and to a crisis line "Triage" Minister Kevin Falcon calls the phone "an important tool for suicide prevention."

It was Falcon who moved the project along after he asked police to rethink their policy of closing all bridges, often for hours at a time, to they negotiate with potential jumpers. The \$9,000-pilot project is "a rescue option for people who have thoughts about ending their own lives and are desperately seeking way out of an unbearable emotional pain," said Jim Ross of the B.C. Crisis Centre.

Authorities in San Francisco plan to install a similar one under the Golden Gate, which will average a suicide about every two weeks, despite the fact it has crisis phones.

There were 45 suicides from the Lions Gate between 1990 and 2007, and the B.C. Corrections Service wants barriers installed on all other bridges. Barriers are an engineering challenge in a suspension bridge, but they seem to work. An array of steel rods reinforced on Toronto's Eglar Street Viaduct in 2001 successfully ended its run as one of the deadliest bridges in North America. ■



LIONS GATE IS GETTING PHONES; THE GOLDEN GATE IS GETTING A NET

Why our EI program isn't so bad



IT MAY BE flawed, but EI has a coverage rate of 82 per cent

BY PETER SHAWN TAYLOR • Canada's Employment Insurance program is flawed in many ways. A regional bus company works in some parts of the country get quicker access and receive health loans, which strikes many as unfair. The surplus of the EI Fund was never put aside for times of high unemployment, but was spent long ago by Ottawa. And while it's designed to insure against unexpected job loss, it usually includes maternity and parental benefits. Still, most criticisms of EI seem misplaced.

Politicians and social activists have complained that only half of all Canadian workers are eligible to receive EI benefits. In an angry exchange between NDP Leader Jack Layton and Prime Minister Stephen Harper in the House of Commons recently, Layton cited a 3 million unemployed in Canada but only 560,000 recipients of EI. While the statistics are factually correct, it's not proof EI is failing workers.

Many workers do not pay into the EI system, or are ineligible to even benefit for legal reasons. That includes the self-employed, and workers who were fired for cause or quit on their own. You also need a minimum number of work hours to qualify for benefits, which prevents new workers from getting benefits without having first paid into EI.

Further, EI is designed to help workers in their first year of unemployment. If you've been off work longer, you become the responsibility of provincial social assistance programs. This group makes up one-quarter of the total unemployed. Despite Layton's complaints, EI was never designed to cover every Canadian without a job—never, regardless of whether they're on welfare or not.

The functional coverage rate is actually 82 per cent. So while EI isn't perfect, it will still cover the vast majority of Canadians who paid premiums and now find themselves laid off as a result of the Great Recession. ■

A win for the sex offender registry

BY MICHAEL TRESCONOTS • Canada's sex offender registry is notoriously incomplete. According to the RCMP's own estimates, only 58 per cent of all rapists, pedophiles and child pornographers are ordered to sign up after they're convicted. The rest—up to five in six, at last count—steered the hands of talking the cops where they live.

It could be worse, though. If a judge in Alberta had his way, the list of registered sex offenders would be a whole lot shorter.

Jerry LeGroscheur's legal friction with the registry began in 2007 when he pleaded over the trial of Eugene Abandon, who committed a sexual assault on Dec. 4, 2004—just 11 days before the database was launched. Justice LeGroscheur ruled that Abandon should not have to register because his "past misdeeds" didn't count when the statute occurred. (The Charter guarantees that defendants are tried according to the penalties in place at the time of the crime.)



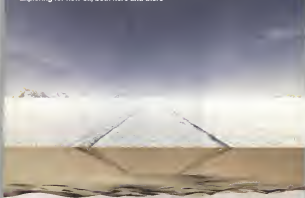
THE COURTS ruled twice that registering isn't 'punishment'

However, the province's highest court overturned the decision, and since then the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal has reaffirmed the fact that complying with the sex offender registry (checking in once a year, and disclosing any address changes) is not a form of punishment, but rather a "ritual" and "mandatory" burden that benefits society. When the Supreme Court of Canada refused to intervene, a nationwide precedent was set. Still, LeGroscheur came again took issue with the maximum rule. When Leonard Thompson walked into court in May 2008 and pled guilty to sexually assaulting a drunk woman before the database went live—and said he was happy to register and "get on with" his life—LeGroscheur urged Thompson's lawyer to advance a Charter argument. When he declined, the judge ordered a new letter for employment, and then ruled a second time that the registry is a form of punishment.

Last month, the Alberta Court of Appeal reversed LeGroscheur's decision. Again "Citizens are entitled to expect the legal stability provided by courts' adherence to the doctrine of precedent," it ruled. "The justice system cannot function properly otherwise." ■

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NEW DELHI'S ENDGAME?

Pakistan says India's spies are working to destabilize the country

BY ADRIAN R. KRAN • Few things are more disturbing than a spy giving you the news over. It's that look in his eyes that makes you feel slightly less than human—maybe a look that he's carefully assessing with the intent of cracking open—and the cold, cruel precision of it all. This particular spy, the one who enters a house in a nondescript part of central Pakistan, the capital of Pakistan's Taliban-pledged North-West Frontier Province, bearing Afghanistan, really looks nothing like a spy. But that's the thing about spies: a good one never fits the bill, which is why James Bond would make such a terrible spy in the real world. "The trick is to disappear," says the partly middle-aged man (for simplicity's sake, let's call him Farouk), a mid-level agent in Pakistan's infamous Inter-Services Intelligence agency. "Whether you're walking around in a market, or under cover inside a militant group, you have to look like everyone else. Otherwise you're a dead man."

In Pakistan, spies make their jobs very awkward, but that's the nature of the espionage game (as much as those murky parts). It is a game of life and death, much like it was in the old days of the U.S.-Soviet Cold War. This era is long past, but another cold war, between archnemeses India and Pakistan, rages on, with potentially dangerous consequences to the world that have been largely ignored. Like the U.S. and the Soviets, both India and Pakistan are nuclear-armed nations; one is secular and the other religious, an echo of the crystalline-Communist divide that was at the heart of the Cold War. But while the U.S. and the Soviets never went to war, Pakistan and India have fought three, and very nearly a fourth.

Shortly after that standoff in 1999, Pakistan's dictator Gen. Pervez Musharraf admitted that he would not hesitate to use the nuclear arsenal at his disposal if Pakistan's defense was menaced. Since then, the potential for chaos has grown as parts of Pakistan have steadily descended into anarchy, while the country's economy has been reduced to a beggar's state. India, meanwhile, has look-



A CEREMONY at a checkpoint between Pakistani (left) and Indian-border guards

ed to near developed-world status. "This land defines itself in opposition to India," says John Piles, founder of globalwarcare.org, a leading online source for security and intelligence information and a longtime observer of the Pakistani and Indian intelligence communities, "and over time India's advantages just keep getting greater, as Pakistan is playing a losing hand."

Against that backdrop, Pakistan's intelligence agents are convinced that India spies are hard at work to destabilize their own spy. "There are tens of thousands of RAW agents in Pakistan," claims Farouk, referring to the Research and Analysis Wing, India's spy service. "But you'll never see them. The guys that get caught are two or three steps removed from the agency team. They don't even know who the agency team is. That's the way things are done."

In Islamabad, Pakistan's capital, Pakistan's officials take a somewhat more measured and diplomatic approach—but still maintain that the threat is real. "We do use foreign funds

at work in Pakistan," says Abdul Baseer, a spokesman for Pakistan's Foreign Ministry, speaking the accepted euphemism for Indian intelligence. "We have been mixing the nose with our friends in Washington. We do have information regarding those activities, but such things are not shared publicly. What ever it should be shared through the proper channels." Baseer concedes that a "cold war mentality" is doing damage to both Pakistan's relations, but predictably deflects the blame onto India, saying that it's the Indians who want to "reach up" the tremors on Pak-

istan's border with Afghanistan to rule attention away from Kashmir.

That noise, of course, lies at the heart of Indo-Pakistan animosity: former RAW chief Osama Kadir has been hoping that the Kashmir question would get the attention India deserves. Indeed, in the early days of the Obama administration, word was that the U.S. would aggressively seek a resolution to the six-decade-long quarrel over the disputed territory. In recent weeks, however, under pressure from New Delhi, U.S. administration officials have backpedaled. During an April 8 meeting with Indian officials, Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. special envoy to the region, said that the Americans would not involve themselves in any Indo-Pakistan disputes.

The danger of even only halfhearted speculation in Pakistan that India has some pull in shaping U.S. policy in Pakistan and the Afghanistan, where New Delhi has recently won the Afghan government of President Hamid Karzai. "Why is the U.S. listening to India more in Afghanistan?" says Maj. Gen. Ashar Abbasi, director general of Inter-Services Public Relations, the spokesman for the Pakistani army. "Frequent events do suggest a rise in foreign activities inside both [Pakistan and Afghanistan]. The ISI is working to counter those activities, but the U.S. can do more to remove those activities by listening more to us." Abbasi, like others in Pakistani political and military circles, is worried by Washington's growing ties with India and the west.

SOME EXPERTS SAY EVEN THE U.S. WANTS PAKISTAN TO BREAK UP INTO SMALLER STATES

over the past two months to New Delhi by officials from the CIA and FBI, among others, to discuss Afghan and Pakistani policy.

Ultimately, according to Farouk and others, India's objective is nothing less than the breakup of Pakistan. And the RAW is now active in that area. In the 1960s, it was widely involved in supporting separatist in Bangladesh, at the time East Pakistan. The eventual victory of Bangladesh's independence in 1971 was in large part owed to the support the RAW gave the secessionist Pakistani haven's forgotten that was once a territory literally, the Tamil Tiger spy agency in Sri Lanka, now on the verge of defeat after a bloody and controversial all-out offensive by the Sri Lankan army, were mostly supported by Indian intelligence in the 1990s (when the group overpowered its bounds and began spreading its agenda to the Tamil majority south of India, the RAW withdrew its support).

Pakistan does have a new book to add

to its border with Afghanistan to rule attention away from Kashmir. India, too, near the Pakistan-Afghan border, all barely set up within a year of the fall of the Taliban regime in the end of 2001, for the former of Pakistan's neighbor. "Why does India need a constant in Kashmir?" demands Farouk, referring to the capital of Afghanistan's south, where Canadian troops are fighting a meager Taliban. That region borders Pakistan's tribalistan province, where a violent separatist movement has been going for years, supported, Pakistanis claim, by India. "We've found Baluch separatists with Indian-made arms, we've traced their funding back to a black hole named at the Indian consulate," Farouk adds.

Some say you see a broader, international agenda to break Pakistan into smaller, more manageable states. Majeed Ghousewala, a professor of economics at the University of Ottawa and director of the Centre for Research on Globalization, suggests that strategic and economic agendas guide the CIA in its Pakistan policy. In a December 2007 article, he pointed out that as recently as 2005, a report published jointly by the U.S. National Intelligence Council and the CIA predicted the dissolution of Pakistan by 2025. "The U.S. oversees concerns in financing social, ethnic and factional divisions and political fragmentation," he writes, "including the territorial breakup of Pakistan."

In Islamabad, the issue is largely political and economic: the region's massive gas and oil reserves are of enormous interest to the U.S.

and India. A gas pipeline slated to be built from Iran to India, one of several already being discussed, would run through Baluchistan. The Baluch separatist movement, which is also active in Iran, often targeted groups for both the U.S. and India, fearing that their war efforts are met. Ghousewala writes, "In the current geopolitical context," he says, "the separatist movement is in the process of being boosted by foreign powers."

But some expert doubt that the RAW's ultimate goal is Pakistan's disintegration. "I can understand the anxiety of some Pakistanis that their country might fragment into a handful of states," says Piles, the globalwarcare.org founder. "But the consequences would be far beyond karma." Instead, RAW's ultimate goal, Piles argues, is to keep Pakistan weak.

Questions remain as to whether the RAW, on its own, is really capable of carrying out any serious covert operations. The department within the organization dedicated to

NEW LIFE FOR DEATH ROW

Even with a new Canadian headquarters and a 'soccer mom' in charge, the notorious rap music label is still shrouded in mystery

BY JONATHAN GATCHEVO • Try as you might, it's impossible to imagine Lavo Law dangling Vanilla Ice off a 1991-floor hotel balcony. Or expounding a record contract with a lead pipe to her back, good-whipping artists, engaging in nightclub gangbangs, or really duplicating any of the countless incidents—large and small—attributed to the founder of the company she now runs. The self-described "Jewish soccer mom" is none grante that gangsta, given to loving scarves, her speech peppered with "man," "dudes" and "awesomes." She even flashes a peace sign by way of goodbye. And that misadventure of the stranger (but the 48-year-old American, and her little-known Toronto-based company, WIDEawake Entertainment Group, are now the keepers of the Jewish legacy of Marvin "Suge" Kruhn Jr. and his infamous rap label Death Row Records.

Several January, WIDEawake's founder, who's now based in Los Angeles, is competing with Warner Music in a Los Angeles bid to buy back the rights to the rights to the Death Row brand, and in back catalog of recordings by urban music heavyweights including Tupac Shakur, Dr. Dre, and Snoop Doggy Dogg. The US\$18 million bid—several million more than the competition—comes from a company that hasn't exactly one other artist on its roster, said singer Jon Jones, raised eyebrows. Hobbled by Kruhn's faded wit, talent, financial woes, and periodic jail sentences, Death Row hasn't released any new material since 2004. And shoddy record-keeping during its early 1990s heyday made it almost impossible to say what remained to be mined from the vault. But Lavo and her associates say they're here to "monetize" an asset that has been heavily used and abused. (Since Shakur was gunned down in Los Vegas in September 1996, at age 25, there have been over a dozen gunpoint assassinations. It involves around giving the suspect access to the music

business a Mr. Rogers-style aviator.

On company press releases the label's late founder—a hooded man strapped to the electric chair—is now accompanied by ink-splattered readings: "Full Justice." "We want to make good with the courts," explains Lavo. "We're very determined to follow the law and get paid and housed." Before any of the Death Row recordings are issued, WIDEawake intends to approach the rappers for their input, give them a chance to complete or polish unfinished tracks, and coordinate licensing to avoid conflicts with any new releases. Payments will be made—although the company says it has no legal obligation, as it owns the songs, labels, tracks and brand. And nothing will be rushed. It will take two years to organize the storage vaults, stuffed with so much material that they look like "the scene at the end of *Blues in the Face*," says Lavo. It's simple time to build new and lasting relationships.

That week, however, in February, she began efforts to push through with the family of Shakur—still Death Row's most marketable commodity—inviting him to meet with his aunt who, along with his mother, controls the estate which has long been at odds with the label. Lavo also paid a visit to their Tape Archive Studio Center for the Arts & Peace Gardens in nearby Stone Mountain, Ga. When Cambridge, the center's director, says he's hopeful that WIDEawake will find new ways to promote the organization's after-school dance and music programs, and summer camps. Some money would help, too. "We get funds from the community and the film, but we lack support from the industry," says Cambridge.

And, with Death Row's catalogue having effectively been out of commission for two years, there does seem to be some pent-up demand. (Kruhn taught Computer 21 protection in April 2006, after Lyda Hanks, the re-



sole of original investor Michael Harris—now selfily serving a 18-year sentence for drug dealing and attempted murder—owns US\$100 million default judgment.) A Tupac song, *Can't C.M.I.*, has been licensed to EA Games for the 2010 edition of the popular Madden NFL game. *WV* came calling for Suge and Dr. Dre via a "Black to the Future" special. John Payne, who worked at Death Row as recording engineer in the early days, and now serves as WIDEawake's senior VP of A & R & content, says the "fresh start" of the label's Canadian origins are opening a lot of previously closed doors. "It's the fact that now we're a more open family company," he says emphatically. "People have always

known the value, but had reasons why they couldn't, or shouldn't be involved." There is also the premise that what may still be in the music. A few weeks ago, WIDEawake issued a press release about "a new album" by a "Black to the Future" band, which had a recording with the agency involved, helped get her the job. She took over when WIDEawake was formed out of

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LAVI is vague about who financed the US\$18-million Death Row bid



LAVI'S PLAN IS TO REACH OUT TO A LONG LIST OF ANGRY ARTISTS

anything that had tracks on it." When the company is prepared to issue a comprehensive statement regarding the findings of a review of previously unissued master recordings owned by Death Row, it will do so.

Adding that little touch of mystery to the mix also seems to be part of the label's plan. Lavo has been deliberately vague about past who owns the private company, saying only that the partnership had connections to Bertelsmann Records, a now-defunct Toronto label that was once home to Nelly, the Irish Descendants, and rapper Chubbz. The opacity has been rattling the New Solutions Capital Group, the Monaghan, Dr. Dre, investment firm financing the acquisition. Since its name appeared on court filings, the firm has been deluged with calls from rap entrepreneurs trying to sell them on the next big thing. "We're not the owners and we have no desire to be in that position," says Robert Thompson-So, New Solutions' managing director of investments. Still, the firm's trader is back and

the sales of *Beats* in January 2006. A few years later, Lavo has a big that reads like a film script. Growing up in Pittsburgh, she was a child prodigy on the piano and violin. But after a "sister spoon" upbringing, she fell out with her father, an engineering professor at Carnegie Mellon University, over her desire to pursue her passion for music, and she left college major—seems to be a way to pay her tuition at the University of Chicago, who took up networking at the famed Kingston Mines blues bar. Eventually, she found her way onto the stage, and worked up what she could from performers like Jimmy Johnston. "He kind of adopted me. I would literally sit in his old black Cadillac and I would sing blues licks and he would correct me," says Lavo, basking over a verse of Barry Manilow.

Johnson, now 80, can't quite picture the scene. "I probably did that," he says from his home in Oakhurst, Ill., south of Chicago. "That sounds like something I would do."

During law school at the University of Oregon in the mid 1980s, she befriended its player Charles Neville of the Neville Brothers, giving him a place to stay when he was touring there. They formed a band, and toured the West Coast. Lavo went on to a solo career, putting out two albums, and eventually reunited with Neville in the Sangre de Cristo, a group that fused contemporary and Native American sounds. All the while, she continued to pursue law, first for the Muckle and then for the, south of Seattle, then in a corporate attorney for a digital music firm. "Maybe you call it a summer person," she says. "I go where my heart leads me."

WIDEawake has a strictly eclectic range of projects on the go. With two just begun in a recording and video film production studio in its left space. Lavo and a co-worker have written a script for a Marvin Gaye biopic, and are hoping to cast Sean Jones (WIDEawake's sole black artist) in the role, although securing rights to the late Marvin's songs' music is proving to be a high hurdle. And Lavo is reworking herself to go back into the studio and record an album of children's lullabies called Little Dreamer, with planned guests including Dr. Dre and other "famous multi-ethnic dancers" for animated film and merchandising.

Still, it all brings one back to the question that Lavo herself poses: "What's next? Jewish woman like me, dealing with a gangster rap label like this?" She takes a breath, then four-hour drive from Nashville to Atlanta for the recent business to tape. Along with the music, there is poetry, games, and even "experiments" in song like *Never Call Me Again*. "Art projects from history. The Death Row era was speaking truth," says Lavo. "To me, it's folk art in its truest form." It's evidence of a genre's success in subverting a musical genre that has been known for its glorification of drugs, guns, and violence, and the bad behavior of its once gliding time. And payback, of sorts, for her artistic life. "I have had an army of older black men who have mentored me," she says. "[Death Row] may not be the end of a man or people looking at the outside, but it makes perfect sense to me." ■

LAP DANCER TURNS MUSIC PRAY FOR AN ENCORE

After Anne, a turn with Warner's *Shades of the Holy Trinity* of Haze, she found her former career as a lap dancer to higher use. Until she joined the record, Anne worked in Hollywood's elite. Day and night, which relative stardom she achieved, she was to play along with her body," she says. (Anecdotes: *Guinness* Review of the Veil was part of the opening audience.)

EMPLOYEE OF THE WEEK

NEW NATIONAL DREAMS

**Michael Ignatieff
talks with Kenneth
Whyte about how
personal history fuelled
his political vision**

Q: Your new book, *True Patriot Love*, is in part an exploration of Canada, but also an exploration of your family and your family's past in Canada. What led you to these subjects?

As I previously wrote a book about the Russian tale of my family, the *Ignatoffs*, but my mother's people, who were Granta and Thelen originally from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, had an interesting story to tell, starting with great-grandfather who helped to lay out the line for the transcontinental railroad, a grandfather who fought at the Battle of Vimy, and my uncle who wrote *Lament for a Nation*. So when I began the book I thought I'm just going to write about that great-grandfather and his trip across the country. But then I knew it, I was writing a history of Canada seen through the eyes of one family.

Q: You talk about how our sense of our country, our patriotism, is an act of the imagination. Is that the case for every country?

A. To be sure, my wife's Hungarian father grew up not where it's like you're born in this person and pretty well everybody in Hungary is Hungarian, and so it's a sort of ceremony that they do to efficiency and language. In Canada it's just our multiple origins and our complexity—and our shortcomings and our intrinsic repugnance—means that when you think of Canada you have to make a great effort for the whole. So you're always engaged in some act of the imagination—and our values are that the language does a mean that Quebecers see through a different lens, Aboriginal communities are through a different lens, and what I like about our country is we've managed somehow, despite being, it's through a different lens, to sometimes see or bring to the same place.

Q: When I think of my sense of Canada and patriotism, it's based not so much on imagination as experience, that you grew up in a place, you experienced something like Expo

'67 and the '72 Canada/Kennedy series, and that shapes your view of what the country and what it means.

As I'll have to experience the country. You have to experience coming out of the box.

cover of eastern Manitoba and opening up on the plains. I always stop the car. Or the marmoset when you drive out of Calgary and you suddenly see the feedhills, especially a sunset, or Armstrong, the feedhills. It has to be based on experience, but the imagination goes to work on experience. The

these couple of moments in Canada, and you'll have to own one. The moment of going to "Vimy Ridge" was an enormous moment of affirmation in Canada, which took me by surprise, because we're those teenagers coming down the hill singing O Canada. Our patriotic feeling is also fuelled by anger and a sense of: "This would be a great country if you know, 'Twer Aboriginal children were taken into care, if more Aboriginal Canadians finished high school, if we could stop this kind of Phosporic Acid poisoning in our rivers." That feeling of disappointment that feeling of anger, that feeling of shame is a patriotic emotion, and it's part of being a citizen of this country. It's a feeling to create a better world for ourselves. I think that's the reason for patriotism. I think it's a feeling. It's just a little way of the very word, "Patriotism" - that there is a kind of patriotism which is not "any country might or money" and it's yours and I wish it was mine.

Quite ironic, though, that if you understand patriotism as fundamentally an act of the imagination rather than an act of experience, there are consequences to that.

A. Well, you know, you can't do anything you want with this country. It's not that simple. British institutions, two official languages, three founding mythologies, at most situated in an austere and beautiful place in the top of North America, next to the Americans. This is a book about how traditional endurance some of our realities are.

Q: But you still want to lay down a path of sorts, challenging Canadians to recognize their country and to take it as the best of their citizenship is to imagine Canada again, and that's an ambitious work of patriotism.

A: When I began writing this book we didn't have an \$10-billion deficit, but I think one of the things that I got out of this—the story I tell in the book—is we were in a long, serious depression in Canada in the late '70s, early '80s, when we finished the biggest piece of public infrastructure we've ever tried to do before or since. We have been capable of extraordinary acts of vision in very adverse circumstances, and we should never forget that.

Q: There is a school of thought in Canada that the rhetoric of nationalism and patriotism

can have been the way by which one region either exploits or suppresses another. Do you think it's possible to have an enhanced nationalism or patriotism without running up against these often very legitimate regional concerns?

At I don't see a contradiction between regionalism and national patriotism. I've lived in Quebec for three years now, and that liberal notion of patriotism recognizes that Canadians choose their allegiances in the order that suits them best, and that's how it's always worked. That's not even especially particular to Quebec. There are people who are just British Columbian first and

Canadian second, and then there are more British Columbian than are Canadian first and British Columbian second. And I've said, what a liberal vision of patriotism that we offer as the choice of belonging to the order that you choose, and we don't ask you to choose between [them]. They always felt that my moral objection to sovereignty is that it forces a population to choose its allegiance in ways that for 140 years Quebecers actually have not wanted to be forced to do. So that's why I'm a very constrained federalist, because I think that the federalism—and therefore the patriotism—on which I'm attached says, "I trust Nova Scotia didn't find itself newly under the flag" (i.e., but I did not see them a colony for Canada).

One of things that is very striking—and not even my political hat—is when you're in a hall, you can warm your hands on the Canadian patriotes, on the attachment to national project. It's very strong. But we're

believe as a fact," and understanding that this duality was the fact around which we had to build everything: our understanding of law, our understanding of the constitution, our understanding of identity, our understanding of patriotism, our understanding of science, etc. And, to be honest, it came out pretty well.

Q Your great grandfather was involved in the building of the transcontinental railroad and you advocate a variety of measures that we might consider to strengthen the rail sector, everything from high speed rail to energy pipelines. What is the appeal to you, of that sort of east-west nation building?

I think first of all that my basic understanding of the forces in Canada are that we have five regional economies that are heavily integrated north-south, that's how the country works economically, and that's fine. The north-south integration is a reality in a fact, and a good fact, and a positive fact. The second thing I think that I think is a reality is a balancing act between the north-south pull and the east-west pull, and the fundamental issue of Canadian politics is always the east-west ties of steel and citrus ship being strong enough to offset the north-south. I'm saying that within the limits of the possible, strengthening the east-west would be a good idea. I'm not credulously misled to any particular way I'd doing that, but for the reason that I've got an 890-ton deficit. So I'm saying that I think that's a reality. You've got. But I've got a track, when I look at high-speed rail between Quebec City and Windsor, how much Canadians who disagree.

There is a kind of patriotism which is not 'my country right or wrong.' It's 'my country and I wish it were right.' Proud Nova Scotian first? Fine.

never believed in a patriotism that was "my country right or wrong," we've never believed

is rationalism to the exclusion of instinct. And the fundamental reason is we speak two languages. Everything is different from that in the north, two linguistic worlds, living side by side in the same country. Everything above shows us falls from that: how we think about identity, how we think about all the other multinational groups that have come into the country since, the advantage we sometimes think is held onto—it all starts from Macedonian and Carian and these gaps spring there in 1866 saying, "How do we put this together?" The genius of Macedonian was to understand "enter them as a nation and they will be below as a nation, treat them as a nation, they are

about many issues want that to happen. Quebec and Ontario want that to happen.

As they want the regional economies to develop, it brings along the costs. It would be 60 per cent of the population base of the country together in one shared infrastructure link, it would be astronomically unreasonable, it'd be an environmentally friendly form of transport, and we happen to have one of the best means of high speed railway equipment in the world. Of course it's expensive, it's very expensive. That's why when we need it, how we phase in these are political questions, but this is not a political marathon. Danny Wilfong (mayor) announced that it was wheeling power through Quebec to the northeast.



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the national government cannot be used

These are the crucial issues of energy security, national independence and national unity that Fleming, a Grant, a John A. MacDonald or a Laurier would have seen as clear as day. We might be tempted to tell them that energy flows north to south because it flows to markets. That's the logic of money. But they would have sensed that unity with an impudent gesture. They would have told us the country wouldn't exist at all if the logical money had determined our destiny. It'd be America.

So the question that they asked and answered, in their wisdom, demands an answer in our time: what exactly is being Canadian worth to us, in dollars and cents? How much are we prepared to invest to keep our country in one piece?

Ocean to Ocean—a Master signer of More-encapsulated the national vision of the rail way age. Our ancestors would be asking us: what is the national vision of our age?

The opening up of the Northwest Passage, over our frozen inland waterway, is an opportunity for Canada to develop a new frontier. Again, we do not appreciate the power we actually possess. As an Arctic nation, we are the sovereigns of a considerable portion of the world's refrigeration system. The future of the planet's weather depends on how we, along with other Arctic nations, stabilize this system and guarantee its future health for the benefit of the world.

It is true we live in a difficult country to govern, as Lauer said. Caution and compromise are properly the essence of our politics. Our union is fragile. But it is equally true, as these 19th-century voices remind us, that we wouldn't exist at all if we hadn't also been a nation of gardeners and dandelions, the land of people who don't take no for an answer. The ambition of our ancestors should be inspiring us to equal, even in death, today and tomorrow.

As members of the clergy, school principals and professors—as the public waste-makers of their time—the Gracians took it upon themselves to pose, and then to answer, the central question facing the country of their day:

For my great grandfather's generation, the question was whether the Canada he grew up in, the five British colonies grouped along the St. Lawrence, could take possession of the West and transform itself into a continental nation state. The answer, given after the journey in *Océus à Douan*, was yes.

For my grandfather's generation, the question was whether Canada could emancipate itself from the British Empire and achieve national independence. The answer, given at the Senate, at Ulster and at Banagher

date, was not

For my uncle's generation, the questions were whether Canada, having emancipated itself from the British Empire, could now survive as an independent state within the American Empire. The right answer—though not the one he gave—was yes.

The tradition of which I am part is an affirmation of Canadian possibility. But it is also a tradition that makes a challenge to the future. It asks the fourth generation to pass, in our turn, the key questions about our country that we must answer.

Q1 AND Q45: Why does so much of what we produce flow south without being processed?



Nowadays, we export more oil to the United States than Saudi Arabia does. If energy is power, then we ought to have plenty of it.

The Greens underscored that the question about Canada is what place it can make for itself in a world of empires. Today the challenge is how Canada maintains its sovereignty and identity in the vortex of a globalisation, democracy and the power of a global market.

The globalisation of the Great War understood as a benign creation of empire. My grandfather was never frightened by the pace of change or the violence of world events because he believed that the world was ordered by the flag, the navy and the crown. When Britain's imperial arc came to an end, Canada shaped an identity in the shadow of *finis imperii*.

My uncle George did his thinking in the imperial high station of American power and believed that American rule would be eternal. In fact, an empire's rule is eternal, and

we are losing the end of that American nose. Over the past 50 years, the world's centre of gravity has shifted away from the North Atlantic, where it rested as Canada grew into nationhood, and has moved east to the Pacific and the Indian oceans.

These are the shifts in the economic plans that will define Canada's place in the world and its very identity. The question now is how Canada finds a new place in a world where it can no longer count on any imperial partner or protector, a world in which, as a consequence, Canada must look to itself to guarantee its

We can surely do the same. The emerging world order of the 21st century is ours to shape and, to the degree that we play our

What Uncle George did understand was that no national identity, not even of great nations, is secure and beyond challenge in a world of unregulated and uncontrolled globalization. Canada's problems are not unique. Canada shares the same problem with large nations, maintaining the integrity of its identity and citizenship in a globalizing economy that harnesses away at the capacity of nations' institutions to deliver citizens control of their culture and their economy.

This is a world where decisions about who gets work and who doesn't, who prospers and who goes hungry, are made not by governments directly, but by the forces of a market that no single government or entity either controls or fully understands.

But government does still matter. Countries with good governments can manage global markets; countries with bad governments will be its victims. George Soros's mistake was to abandon both its ordinary politics and its capacity of his fellow citizens to shape the laws through free institutions. No country

we will be fully conscious even as identity, but they govern decisions over issues most sensitive to them, more capable of instilling change and preserving the vital core of traditional beliefs and values that give a people their identity. They govern concerns relating to peace, order and good government in their communities, and they are the most likely to be responsible for the survival of their culture. These successful countries are run by indigenous programs that attract entrepreneurial, capable people from around the world to become citizens. Reputation, political consensus, government, justice, institutional development, in education and training, in science and technology, in infrastructure, and in the public goods that draw citizens together and help to make the state productive. These successful countries know the difference of not race, religion, and ideology—they drive citizens, create wealth, and advance or protect people from war.

None of these successful countries is free enough to believe that it is finished on its own. They all take their promises of equality, fairness and justice seriously, which means that their leaders know that there are still promises to keep. These countries don't protect their markets against global competition; they invest in their own people's status and prosperity so they can gain footholds in the people's markets. Above all, these successful countries keep their governments honest and accountable. Trust is a good bet, but in the people who are elected, belief that such

policy can actually improve people's lives these are the emotions that sustain the citizenship of successful societies.

Such societies are successful not just because they are prosperous and free, but because their citizens share a sense that they know where they came from and know where they are headed in the future. They are hopeful. They believe in themselves. They believe in the capacity of their people to do great things. There are nations.

Patriotism—caring, impulsive, not even held in the promise of the land you love—is the single greatest asset of successful societies. Successful societies struggle with their deficiencies and overcome them through collective efforts of will and sacrifice. Patriotism is the sealant that nations people don and reform change and improvement in their country; patriotism is the source of the important message that makes others make a noble, important contribution to the common good.

It is this sentiment that makes us want to be one people. It is this shared feeling that allows us to rise above our differences—English and French, Aboriginal, Métis, Inuit, immigrants from every land—and makes a complex unity of us all.

For granted, never certain, never to be taken for granted, always a work in progress, has meaning for us, but it also offers an example to others. Canadians know as much as any group about living together across the political and ethnic divides; we know how to get on with each other and yet maintain what is essential, what we cannot give up. We know that trust cannot be overestimated. We have some experience in respecting the rights of individuals and yet also protecting the collective values of language and culture that give individuality meaning. We know something too, about a national pride that is ironic, modest, self-deprecating yet also robust. We know the difference between too prime time love affairs, between love that always suspects the truth of who we are, however painful, and the love that focuses the truth and explains it with his. Most of all, we know—in a manner that is not always obvious to those with whom we are in constant conflict and that is not true to our best when we allow ourselves to imagine ourselves alone. ■

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PLAN B FOR GLOBAL WARMING

Science has a bold scheme to cool earth almost overnight. But are we ready for it?

BY JONATHAN GATEHOUSE

There's a drawing of Don Quixote tucked to the wall of David Keith's University of Calgary office, one of Canada's Don't-forsake-illustrations showing the aging knight flying backwards off his horse in his lance brand against the blade of a windmill. The 47-year-old environmental scientist purchased it as a self-motivating reward after the publication of his 2004 paper, "The influence of large scale wind power on global climate." Using computer modeling, Keith and his colleagues found that wind energy might not be quite as green as envisioned, potentially changing climate on a worldwide scale as fields of turbines slow the winds, changing rainfall and the amount of moisture in the soil. Their conclusion that the much-touted

benefits from wind farms might actually be outweighed by the costs didn't meet with broad public approval. Keith's email inbox quickly filled with hate messages, a rare trick for an academic.

Should the trend hold, the professor might want to start clearing space on his wall for a crucifix. The work Keith is engaged in now meshes with that one itself, blending some of the grandest ideas of the world's environmental movement. Spurred by new data suggesting global warming is progressing faster, and as a result more profound, level than even the worst-case scenarios, he is at the fore of a small group of scientists propelling a quick technological fix, a "Plan B" to slow climate change and cool the earth almost overnight via massive human-made aerosols. Among their science-fiction style ideas: the deployment of millions of lenses the size of doughnuts in geostationary orbits to shade the earth; land-based, the creation of vast banks of artificial clouds over the world's oceans, reflecting down with reflective material; and Keith's preferred solu-

tion—seeding the stratosphere with sulphate or other particles. All schemes designed to send a portion of the sun's rays back into the cosmos, and buy us decades, hundreds and the public time to finally get serious about curbing greenhouse gas emissions.

When Keith first took an interest in such ideas—bumped together under the broad rubric "geoengineering"—in a grad student 20 years ago, they would hardly be discussed in polite scientific company. Even less so in environmental circles, where many viewed any proposal to manage climate change as a threat to efforts to stop it. "It was a frank show," he recalls. Virtually in mainstream forums, the topic was only debated at secret NASA and White House-organized confabs.

But somewhere amid reports of melting icefields, worsening droughts, and soaring CO₂ concentrations, previously closed minds snapped open. In the last two years, geoengineering has gone from the implausible pursuit of Dr. Evil-style books to a subject of serious scientific and political debate. In the U.K.,

the Royal Society, the country's de facto academy of science, has launched a major study (Keith is on the panel) and a parliamentary committee is preparing a report. In the U.S., the National Academy of Sciences is planning a similar probe. Last week, President Barack Obama's chief science adviser, John P. Holdren, revealed the administration has been discussing the option, with a focus on scattering perhaps by plane, balloons, giant floating chimneys, or even artillery-like—massive quantities of sulphates or other aerosols in the upper atmosphere.

The idea is to mimic the effect of massive volcanic eruptions like Mount Pinatubo, which lowered global temperatures by 0.5°C after spewing out 18 million tonnes of SO₂ in 1991. But what he didn't mention should be of particular concern to Canadians: The logical job for such experiments—100,000 tanker plane flights a year per one estimate—would be the Arctic, where the cooling would be of the greatest benefit, restoring sea ice and turning down the global thermostat.

Look at the economic history of geoengineering over the past two decades and Keith is there every step of the way. But now, with the research money about to start flowing, he worries things are maybe moving a little too fast. In late January, a report from German scientists called a United Nations ban and damped 20 tonnes of non-sulphate particles off Antarctica's hopes of thickening the growth of CO₂-eating glaciers. In food-schools of hungry sheep at the glacial's bloom.

And that's the basic problem with geoengineering: no one is quite sure what happens "downstream" when you start messing with heat and gases of the global climate. Would a colder Arctic mean more or less rain in the tropics? If you dissolved more CO₂ in the sea, how would that affect marine life? Would the ecosystem be able to handle all that extra sulphur in the atmosphere? The cure could very well end up hurting worse than the disease.

"I have mixed feelings about it," says Keith.

FIXING THE WEATHER: Count artificial clouds and leaves in space do the trick?

"I think there are a lot of ways to manipulate the system, and when you start meddling about them, you can come up with more and more." He flicks through his computer to a research paper on "levitating particles," a possible alternative to sulphate. For months, he would be able to bring himself to submit it for publication. "I'm worried about opening up Pandora's box," he explains. "Even though I am basically doing it."

Global warming can't be stopped. Even if greenhouse gas emissions were reduced to zero today, the CO₂ we've already pumped into the atmosphere will take 1,000 years to dissipate. Worldwide temperatures would continue to rise—about three-quarters of a degree Celsius according to the best estimate. And that's the good news.

For all the talk about climate change, no real progress—political or otherwise—has been made. In fact, things are getting worse. According to new data, global carbon emissions have grown 3.5 per cent a year since 2000, roughly as quickly as from the 3.8 per cent annual growth of the 1990s. The main cause has been the booming, coal-burning economies of the developing world, although it's not as if Europe or North America have lessons to compare two regions' emissions have declined.

Current rates of warming already have glaciers melting at alarming rates. Arctic waters may be too thin to navigate as soon as 2015. And the latest satellite measurements show sea levels rising even faster than expected—as much as a centimetre a year. As things accelerate, they could be up to 78 cm higher by century's end. And this all means that the International Panel on Climate Change's worst-case scenario of just two years ago—a 2°C global average temperature rise by century's end—may now be too optimistic. And it is frankly scaring the hell out of a lot of experts. "The recent science suggests we have to rethink everything," says Joe Chassignet, director of research for the Centre for Risk Reduction, a National Science Foundation atmospheric institute. "Because as it is, it is closer to the lip of the cliff than we thought."

And in business, desperate investors begin to look a lot more desperate. Earlier this year, the British energy giant the Independent sold its 50 international climate specialists to other things on a scale that the world needs a back up plan. Just over half—14 per cent—came down in favour of spreading the damage. Thus, a last-minute fix is hardly a ringing endorsement, but one has to understand and hope for the consequences of artificial manipulation to have been "As recently as last year, nearly the whole community would fit comfortably in

THE POWER OF GOING GREEN

A MACLEAN'S EXCLUSIVE

Employers are finding new purpose, and plenty of profit, in environmentalism

BY NANCY MACDONALD • The best view of what the Macdonalds own to the complete maine hydro project belongs to the tourist 45 meters above it on a zip-line—a kind of horizontal bungee jump. But at 88 km/h—and screaming her lungs out—she seems to have missed it. In fairness, the pale blue pipe hugging Pitmeadow Creek for about a quarter of its 35-km length doesn't look like much, dwarfed as it is by stands of centuries-old Douglas fir, western hemlock and red cedars. But when sunlight in November, three months ahead of the Olympics, the 330-million project will make Whistler better than carbon-neutral, pecking on instead 11.5 gigawatt-hours of clean, renewable energy—more than enough to power its 16 lifts, 17 restaurants and 770 snowmobiles.

The so-called "green bridge" project will divert part of the stream into a pipe, just over a metre in diameter. Spend enough money and you'll be guaranteed in its final 600 m, discount, when the water comes crashing down a steep, 75-degree slope. At the base, a turbine will capture that energy before returning the water to the watercourse below.

"It's not the W.A.C. Bennett dam," says Arlene De Jong, environmental resource manager for the resort, pointing skeptically to piping no taller than a 10-year-old. But his

**2009
Canada's Greenest
Employers**

reference to B.C.'s gigantic hydroelectric dam—one of the world's biggest—is apt. The magnificent 300-m project required over 100 million tonnes of gravel, steel, rock and concrete, new roads, reservoirs, intake towers and transmission lines, and did irreparable damage to fish stocks and the Five Nations communities it displaced through flooding. That's the old way to generate energy. What he already has roads and transmission lines in place to begin transmitting energy from its main hydro project at Pitmeadow Creek. To link with B.C. Hydro, they'll simply need to run a 100 m cable, and flip a switch. The project is considered a model for small-scale renewable energy production.

But it's an example of localized power generation and alternative energy sources that Canadian companies are exploring to control costs, reduce their ecological footprints, and generate environmental credibility. For the first year ever, Maclean's has partnered with Toronto publisher MediaCorp to present a list of Canada's 50 greenest employers. It provides an inside look at some of the initiatives Canada's corporations are undertaking to improve their environmental footprints—"and their bottom line," adds MediaCorp managing editor Richard Yoncos. In Quebec, for example, paper giant Can-

aden Inc. has cast its eye on garbage. For the past three years, it has been powering its mill at Saint-Jovite with biogas generated from the decomposition of waste at the nearby Mc-Stephen waste transfer station. When burned, the biogas generates steam for the mill's four paper machine dryers—the most energy-intensive task associated with paper making, explains communications director Julie Loyer. In winter, Loyer adds, the steam is also used in heating, and now underlies nearly 85 per cent of the mill's thermal energy needs. That replaces an annual 36 million cubic metres of natural gas and reduces carbon dioxide emissions by 540,000 tonnes per year—the equivalent of removing 15,000 cars from the road every year. The 160-million-dollar investment, meanwhile, has already paid for itself, and the low-carbon biogas has reduced intake electrical and energy costs at the 30-Jovite facility by almost a third.

In Montreal, McGill University is also experimenting with alternate energy sources. Rather than venting out the substantial heat generated by the university's IT and data centre—where it's used as a space—heater—the university will capture, pipe and re-use the waste heat in several dormitories, reducing overall heating costs, says associate vice-president John Nicoll. A planned retrofit of McGill's Otto Maass Chemistry Building, meanwhile, is expected to cut its energy use by 66 per cent. And since 2006, McGill has also been generating heating and cooling savings of 40 per cent at Lady Meredith House, home to the McGill Centre for Medicine, Ethics and Law, where it has installed a geothermal exchange system. The historic red brick build-



EMPA's Multiple Lake wind farm. Canada's power grid is being decentralized

ing on the corner of Peel and Pine streets is lined with liquid-filled pipes that run deep underground, explains Nicoll. In winter, the warmth trapped in the earth is captured by the liquid and pumped into the building, warming the city's classrooms, when the ground is cooler than the atmosphere, heat from the building is expelled underground.

They're even tinkering with locally generated power in Alberta. Enmax, Calgary's city-owned utility, has announced the construction of the 310-million Dawson Creek District Heating project, which could help to delay or even eliminate the need for a controversial transmission line to be built in Calgary from northern Alberta. The downtown plant will also provide waste heat to 10 million sq. ft. of case area office space, through a network of underground insulated pipes instead of separate boiler systems.

The "oldies," offhandedly a conventional coal plant and transmission lines, which require enormous outlays of steel, copper and lead, as "fundamentally uneconomic," says Gary Holden, the Calgary-based CEO. "Building power generation near cities, where you can

take advantage of waste heat, is really the future of the generation sector," he says, adding that several European cities, spurred by high costs, have been so successful for decades. Holden, who's been a staunch supporter of alternative and renewable energy sources since taking the helm of Enmax in 1995, admits that, in Alberta, where the provincial government remains "fiercely committed" to coal development if it can be made clean, he's "really pushing against tradition." Enmax, which last month announced \$3.6 billion in revenues for 2008, under a earnings of \$1.1 million, came into "lots of opposition" when talking plans for the cleaner energy, he adds.

Still, Holden sees a future, 50 to 100 years from now, in which micro hydro systems, wind farms, solar panels and co-generation plants will gradually diminish the need for coal and nuclear power. "If you can concentrate such a future in your mind, then it's just a question of how to create policy to drive it to that endgame." Change, he says, "absolutely" has to be driven by utilities and power corporations.

"To say the electricity sector is changing

dramatically is an understatement," says Toronto Hydro president and CEO Daniel O'Brien. The publicly-owned utility will soon begin allowing consumers to sell locally generated power—such as wind, solar, photovoltaic (PV), renewable biomass, biogas, bio-fuel or land fill gas—"back into the grid." By not adding solar panels and solar hot water heaters, he says, Ontario's Green Energy Act is providing consumers with incentives to begin doing just that, he adds.

"The whole system of providing electricity is being re-thought," says O'Brien, noting that the utility has now completed the installation of so-called "smart meters" in 80 per cent of Toronto homes. (The advanced meters, which detail consumption on an hourly basis, allow the utility to vary pricing according to hourly demand; it is believed that consumers will adjust their consumption habits accordingly, which may delay the need for new energy projects.)

"A major paradigm shift is under way," says O'Brien. "Just don't call it a greenhouse gas issue—even if you get greenhouse gas benefits," says Holden. "Make sure it's a conversation about conservation and efficiency." De Jong agrees. The best environmental arguments he's ever made in the Whistler hotel room he'd withdrawn the word "carbon neutral" at all. "We're losing money," he said. "Our brand is being diminished. We're missing a great recruitment opportunity." That's how you sell it, he says. Avoid alienation and the "motherhood pitches."

However, De Jong admits that urgency may be more acutely felt at Whistler. The resort is already at the forefront of climate change and global warming, and has had to make adaptive changes: increasing its snow-making capacity and placing lifts on higher ground, for example. The resort is also doing more green building—flashing air tight, installing insulation and other observations—so that, conversely, "it takes less snow to open next." In the worst-case scenario, he says, the resort may have to deal with climate change with the provincial government, trading lower acreage for higher, above-glacier zones. "But we don't want to go there."

That's what is motivating the resort wide goal of achieving a net zero footprint within its operating area, he says. This year, the resort, which has an extensive recycling program in place, began participating in all its wastewater and rain, bringing down the amount of water they used to the landfill by 60 per cent, with the ultimate goal of zero waste and zero carbon emissions within 10 years.

That's the kind of spirit that's animating the 30 or members of this year's Greenest Employers list, and if it keeps up, the list will only get bigger in the coming year. ■



STAFF at Nature's Path Foods in Richmond, B.C., maintain their own organic garden, and built a green roof on company headquarters.

THE GREEN 30

Here are the Canadian companies that are leading the way in creating a new culture of environmentally responsible business BY RICHARD YEREMA

(#) number of Canadian full-time employees

Town of Banff

Municipality Banff, Alta

- Organized waste drop-off programs with waste collection bins for residents and visitors, in part because budgeted composting on arrival wildlife inside the park
- "Towards Zero Waste" program to eliminate non-recyclable garbage generated at special events
- Diesel-hybrid transit buses reduce carbon emissions and are washed with captured rainwater. (908)

Rayer Inc.

Health care and science business

- Toronto
- Employee-led "Green Matters Team" reviews and manages its environmental initiatives
- LED bulbs, computer-controlled lighting and heating systems, as well as environmental audits of all facilities, created a semester position for an environmental services student to assist in the auditing process
- Tree and vegetation planting campaign

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to "re-materialize" and create a walking trail on its land office property, which has an 8,000-sq.-foot green roof on the main building. (889)

B.C. Public Service

Provincial civil service Victoria

- Legally bound to be a carbon-neutral public sector employer by 2010, the first major political jurisdiction in North America to adopt such a goal
- New government buildings to be constructed

PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES HOPKINS



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to Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) gold (or equivalent certification) standard, existing buildings being upgraded to reduce energy consumption.

- Online emissions calculator for travelling employees to work out carbon levels from different travel options, to help them to make better choices.

An online site, "Where Green Ideas Work," highlights ongoing initiatives, such as its hybrid fleet purchasing policy for vehicles,

making it the largest user of recycled tires in Canada and the 11th-largest worldwide.

- Greenhouse gas emissions have been cut by 26 per cent since 1990 and it currently uses five times less water than the Canadian industrial average. (\$10,400)

Enmax Corp.

Energy distribution firm, Calgary

- "Eco-Style Days" program encourages workers to take specific actions to reduce their

and alternative transportation) to set up a battery recycling program.

- Idle shut-down policy at company facilities requires drivers to turn off their engines.
- Roof-top solar power demonstration units will evaluate how different solar technologies perform in the Alberta climate. (\$398)

Fairmont Hotels Inc.

Luxury hotels & resorts, Toronto

- Employee run recycling programs are so successful and profitable that each hotel has its own "Green Team," which assesses monthly and includes employees from all departments; program computes an annual "Greenwood Hall of the Year" title.
- Long-standing environmental program focuses on waste management, energy and water conservation, and the use of earth-friendly products; at some hotels more than 80 per cent of items previously thrown away as garbage, such as food scraps and used furniture, are now recycled or reused.
- With their "Green Partnership Guide" distributed to hotel management schools and even other hotel chains, it literally wrote the book on how to build a greener business.

- Wide variety of environmental initiatives and saving options: gardens, native plants at resort locations; staff support for clean air initiatives; archery and canoeing programs are part of the Audubon Cooperative Sanctuary system and hotel properties worldwide operate programs to raise awareness and protect endangered species in areas where they operate, including raising funds to conserve the beluga whales in the St. Lawrence River, right whales off the coast of New Brunswick, grizzly bears and wolves in Alberta, sea turtles in Acapulco and bluebirds in Bermuda. (\$890)

Hewlett-Packard (Canada) Co.

Computer products
Mississauga, Ont.

- Provides free employee recycling depots at its offices for batteries, mobile phones, ink and laser jet cartridges and compact discs; for last year's Earth Day employee collection and recycled more than 45,000 kg of old electronics from their homes and company offices.
- Funds the employee-led "HP Sustainable

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and educates employees about what can be done in the office and at home. (\$4,500)

Burby, Perkins & Will Architects Inc.

Architectural firm, Vancouver

- "Green Operations Plan" ensures its operations are reflected in an environmentally responsible manner; provides employees with transit subsidies and secure bike storage with shower facilities, and minimizes water and energy use as well as office waste.
- Committed to the "LEED Challenge"—that its building projects will be designed to be carbon neutral by 2030. (\$67)

Cascades Inc.

Paper products manufacturer,
Kingsey Falls, Que.

- Calculates individual employee's through a "Eco Home" contest, which recognizes workers who integrate concerns for the environment into their daily activities.
- It recycles 3 traditional tonnes of board and paper every year, accounting for 77 per cent of the raw material used by the company;

Banff's new diesel-hybrid buses spew less carbon exhaust, and maintenance facilities use rainwater for washing the fleet

environmental footprint; a work and at home, more than 87 per cent of employees signed the pledge in its first few months.

- Herb initiatives ranging from transportation fairs to encourage use of public transit

Eco-renovations: Save money while saving the earth

While most of us agree that we need to protect our planet, it's sometimes hard to know what we can do to help.

Change your home and help make a change to the world. If you're planning renovations, now is a great time to consider making energy efficient home improvements. By making your home more eco-friendly, you'll help the environment and save money on your energy bills too.

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by Network" since 1998, which supports educational, scientific and sustainable practice businesses within the firm.

- Encourages employees to leave the car at home through a long-standing commitment to telecommuting, and also provides preferred parking for carpools and shower facilities for bicycle commuters at some locations.

- Head office is situated on seven hectares of land adjacent to an environmentally protected river, where the company planted more than 16,000 trees and shrubs, outside, the building features motion sensitive lighting to cut energy use.

- "3P Green Advocates" program educates employees volunteers who attend quarterly training sessions and disseminate environmental information across the company, as well as to 3P contractors.

- As well as having recycled hundreds of millions of pounds of used computer equipment and peripherals since 1992, last year it sponsored "Waste Reduction Week", volunteer employees collected more than 6,000 kg of discarded electronics at the University of Waterloo and sent it to the firm's recycling facility in Mississauga. (3,840)

HOW Canada Inc.

Architectural firm Toronto

- Workplace initiatives range from using recycled paper and biodegradable cleaning products to installing motion sensor controlled lighting fixtures in the office.

- Carbon footprint reduction strategy aims to cut carbon dioxide emissions in half by 2010.

- Electricity comes from Building Power, a Canadian energy provider that exclusively uses emissions free sources, such as wind and low-impact hydro.



- Completed more than 10 LEED-certified projects worldwide, nine of which got the highest gold standard, including its own head office.

- Building partnerships with the Clean Air Foundation's "One Planet" initiative to promote solar power generation in Canada as well as the Biomimicry Guild, which incorporates nature's best ideas into building designs. (3,850)

IBM Canada Ltd.

Computer products and services
Markham, Ont.

- Awarded the Building Owners and Managers Association "Go Green Plus" certificate. IBM Canada joined for creating structures determined by measuring energy usage, water consumption, office waste, emissions, indoor work environment and environmental management initiatives—for its Markham facility.

Hewlett-Packard has recycled hundreds of millions of pounds of electronic waste in the past 20 years

- Founding member of "Simon Consensus 404-7" this advocates responsible commuting in its rapidly growing suburban neighbourhood, and has an employee cycling club that encourages other employees to cycle to and from their workplace, shower and changing facilities for those taking self-propelled transportation.

- Achieved national telecommuting network eliminates needless commutes and tonnes of CO₂ emissions along the way.

- Provided its Simoes, Que., workers with 1,000 trees last year to promote its house recycling programs. (3,377)

IKEA Canada LP

Home furnishings retailer
Burlington, Ont.

- After introducing a five-cent charge for plastic bags in 2007, plastic bag use dropped by 90 per cent.

- Recycling depots where customers can drop

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Fairmont Hotels wrote the book on environmental hospitality—including using non-polluting cleaning products in all of its rooms





Besides installing geothermal heating in one of its buildings, McGill University created a bike lending program for students

all compact fluorescent light bulbs (which contain low levels of mercury), halogen bulbs and old batteries—over 800 DGA items.

- Regular environmental audits ensure waste minimizes or improves their internal efforts to recycle, reduce waste and save energy
- Preferred green parking spaces for commuters who drive hybrid, fuel efficient and electric vehicles.
- Employees have planted over 14,000 trees as part of "Pick a Tree, Plant a Tree" initiative, in partnership with Tree Canada
- DGA Canada parent company's sourcing policy means it won't source illegally killed wood or wood from ancient natural forests, supply is required to document the origin of their wood and monitor forestry companies (3,470)

Intramont ULC at Whistler Blackcomb

- Six resort Whistler B.C.
- A \$10-million hydroelectric plant under construction within the ski area will produce clean electricity for all operations, offsetting more than 11,000 tonnes of carbon dioxide and making the resort carbon neutral in time for the 2010 Winter Olympics
- Full-time "Environmental Coordinator" manages zero-waste goal initiatives, aggressive recycling and composting programs, has goal of reducing waste by 75 per cent in food and beverage operations, light fixtures, temperature control and energy efficient light bulbs installed in a majority of facilities
- More than 40 employees participate in a carpool program that uses first-come/first-served

vehicles, saving an estimated 64,000 km of driving, equivalent to more than 300 tonnes of carbon emissions annually

- "Operation Green-Up" program has spent \$1.5 million since 1999 enhancing the natural environment, including planting crosses in waterheds, promoting drinking water and introducing native plants, seeds and species, works with local community organizations, the Habitat Improvement Team, to protect, restore and enhance fish and wildlife habitat in the area, as well as partnering with local government and other area businesses in developing a community sustainability plan called Whistler 2010
- "Terra employees as bear environmental practices and harm ecology and wildlife laws for visitors, has more than 90 environmental interpretive sites throughout the property (2,604)

Jacques Whitford Ltd.

Consulting engineering firm
Dartmouth, N.S.

- Has reached carbon neutral status, with each office required to reduce its carbon footprint every year
- Employees "green teams" review day-to-day office practices, such as purchasing environmentally friendly products and monitoring waste management programs
- Encourages carpooling and bicycling to work, with secure lockers providing secure bike storage and shower facilities
- Completed the first LEED certified office in New Brunswick (152)



KPMG LLP

Audit 104 corporate finance services, Toronto

- After measuring carbon emissions in both new travel, set a 10 per cent reduction target to be achieved through increased utilization of video conferencing technology and updated travel policies
- Aggressive paper reduction targets to be achieved through double-sided printing, document recycling during software audits "think before we print" educational campaign for all employees, half of all paper used has recycled content and 70 per cent of virgin paper must be sourced from sustainable managed forest operations
- In-house energy saving initiatives include reviewing heating and air conditioning equipment efficiency, thermostat settings, office lighting as well as conducting awareness campaigns around employees about the importance of reducing their own consumption through measures such as shutting down their computers
- Office waste reduction strategies, which are managed by employee-led EPC Office Champions at each location, include recycling, and procurement of reusable and recyclable products
- New office space and building construction has to meet green-building standards, such as LEED certifications
- Environmental groups added to list of charitable organizations the firm supports through its long-standing "KPMG Foundation" externality program (3,552)

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Smart traffic systems are helping to reduce gridlock by 20%, cutting pollution and increasing citizenship on public transit.

Smart food systems based on RFID technology embedded into supply chains are monitoring meat quality and other items from the farm to the supermarket shelf.

Smart healthcare systems are helping to lower the cost of therapy by as much as 90%.

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McGill University
University Montreal
• Rejuvenated office bird and "Rebirth McGill" strategy launched to bring together employees, faculty and students to reduce the university's energy consumption in keeping with provincial estimates of a 14 per cent

• Zero waste goal, plus 2012 carbon reduction goal of 20 per cent below 2005 level.
• Donates one per cent of sales from "Eco-Kids" product line to species and habitat conservation programs worldwide.
• Development of organic products has helped to decrease the use of veners of ign.

Rescan Environmental Services Ltd.
Environmental and engineering consulting firm, Vancouver
• "Green Ribbon Program" provides a 25 per cent reimbursement (up to \$250 annually) on qualified environmentally friendly purchases such as energy-efficient light bulbs,

GoPro cameras, water barrels, native plant species, bicycles and more.

• Toyota Prius hybrid for employee use plus an employee paid rebate for the purchase of a hybrid vehicle.

• Employee-led "Green Ideas Committee" reviews and introduces green initiatives in the office, the company now serves organic tea and fair-trade-certified coffee and is using Forest Stewardship Council (FSC)-certified paper in printers and copiers. (387)

SaskEnergy employees volunteer time to help low-income families upgrade their homes' energy efficiency



reduction by 2011 from 2001 levels.

• Unnecessary pesticide use eliminated.
• Bicycle lending program established at its suburban McDonald's campus.

• Paper telephone directories eliminated, on-campus recycling program expanded, use of recycled-content paper expanded from zero two years ago to 55 per cent used for duty function.

• Geothermal heating system installed. (5,495)

Nature's Path Foods Inc.

Breakfast food manufacturer, Richmond, B.C.

• Employees get \$1,000 subsidy toward the purchase of a hybrid vehicle.

• Workers manage own organic garden and composting program for food waste, green roof constructed on company's head office.

themic fertilizers and has helped keep more than 14,000 hectares of farmland under organic stewardship. (396)

New Flyer Industries Canada ULC

Transport bus maker, Winnipeg

• Metal recycling initiatives in manufacturing process ensure it recycled more than 150 tonnes of aluminium, copper, steel and stainless steel last year.

• Environmental Coordinator oversees policies, such as the employee carpool program, which has reduced parking spots, and also develops other energy saving strategies, such as shutting down unused computers and unnecessary lights.

• Offers a variety of alternative bus designs for mass transit providers across North America, incorporating electric trolley, diesel and hybrid technologies. (1,336)

Royal Bank of Canada

Financial services, Toronto

• "RBC Environmental Blueprint" strategy addresses ways the bank and its employees can tackle environmental issues, such as climate change, biodiversity, forest and water resource management; these priorities include reducing its environmental footprint, promoting environmentally responsible business activities, and developing environmental products and services.

• "EnergySaver" program has installed energy-efficient lighting, purchased clean, renewable "green energy" to power more than 75 branches as well as purchased information offices for 25 additional branches, new retail banking and insurance locations to be powered with green energy.

• Buys FSC-certified paper products where

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IKEA workers have planted over 14,000 trees in Canada as part of the 'Pick a Tree, Plant a Tree' program



possible and has recently earned that accolade as one of the top 100 greenest companies in the world (ENR, 2006).

SAS Institute Canada Inc.

Business software, Toronto
 • Constructed the first commercial office building in Canada that is LEED®-registered, using 55 per cent recycled materials in its construction, and incorporated energy-saving features to use up to 90 per cent less energy than a traditional structure.
 • Filters for drinking water as required for plastic bottles, disposable paper plates and cups and recycled upholstery fabrics, glasses, cups and cutlery.
 • Used laptops and personal computers donated to charitable organizations for a zero-waste goal. (2006)

Sagient Canada, Inc.

IT consulting and marketing, Toronto
 • Employees eliminated disposable plates, cups and cutlery, energy saving kitchen

through carbon-water conservation, meeting rooms and light switches in offices, a follow-up educational and promotional campaign encouraged employees to turn out the lights when they leave. CFL light installs where possible and a light management system in

The green roof at Laurel Creek Nature Centre cuts heating and cooling costs, and was sponsored by Toyota Canada



appliances installed, paper towels replaced with hand drying, recycling and office paper reuse programs established, denting services eliminated to use environmentally friendly products.
 • Nightly shutdown protocol for all non-essential electronics and lighting to conserve energy.
 • Used laptops donated to Raincoast Canada, which refurbishes and distributes them over 200 charitable and non-profit organizations across the country.
 • Recently moved into an LEED-certified head office to help reduce its carbon footprint. (187)

SinkEnergy Inc.

Natural gas distributor, Regina
 • Employees can control their lighting

place to reduce unnecessary electricity consumption by reducing lighting after hours and on holidays.
 • Employees rebates (up to \$1,000) for purchase of high-efficiency furnaces and (up to \$5,000) for construction of a new energy-efficient home.
 • Rebates, grants, and loans available to help customers buy energy-efficient appliances, install volunteer-driven home energy upgrade project for previous low-income families. (160)

SinkTel

Communications firm, Regina
 • Extensive in-house recycling programs for business, printer cartridges, office paper, light bulbs, phone books, furniture, office equipment, wire and cabling and computer equip-

ment items that more than 770,000 kg of waste, or 69 per cent of the company's total, was diverted from landfill last year.

- "Ecological Strategy" connects the company to consider environmental impacts as part of its decision-making processes while a "Greenhouse Gas Management" plan has aggressive reduction targets for the use of electricity, natural gas and fuel.
- Sponsors local recycling projects for a variety of household items, diverting those items from landfill every year.
- Buys and sells telephone directories from landfill every year; employees have used their expertise to repair and donate more than 25,000 surplus computers to local schools and community organizations since 1991. (3,363)

Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre

Hospital, Toronto
 • Manager of environmental sustainability oversees ongoing initiatives and plans for the future: make of \$11 million green national including installing energy-efficient lighting, upgrading heating and air conditioning systems and adding a state-of-the-art building automation systems, all of which will cut greenhouse gas emissions by a projected \$300,000. A large photovoltaic array will be installed and structurally integrated into an existing structure.
 • "Earth Matters Showcase" event educates employees about environmental initiatives under way and how employees can become more involved, both at work and at home, in developing a next-generation recycling program, including better composting efforts.
 • In response to feedback from an audit, the hospital installed anaerobic gas absorption technology to reduce by 95 per cent the amount of waste gas released into the environment, which has prevented the release of more than 470 tonnes of CO₂ equivalent gases into the atmosphere. (8,799)

Toronto-Dominion Bank

Financial services, Toronto
 • Employees led "Green Teams" and individual "Green Ambassadors" manage campus initiatives, which include paperless meeting, recycling and reduced paper usage, and new environmentally focused procurement strategies.
 • Targets being carbon neutral by 2010, LEED standards for new construction as well as matching and power conservation through Building Power-to-Go, all 100 per cent hours of annual target consumption from its ATM network.
 • "TD Friends of the Environment" Round-

table has provided over \$45 million to Canadian environmental projects since 1990. (26,740)

Toronto Hydro Corp.

Electrical utility, Toronto
 • Does over 100 energy audits each month to employees.
 • Employees and their families planted over 2,000 trees and shrubs for Earth Day since 2004.
 • Has saved 355 megawatts of electricity since 2001—enough to power approximately 245,000 homes—through its demand response program, converting vehicles to hybrid and ethanol, maintaining a solar panel array and installing the first urban wind turbine in North America.
 • Power saving initiatives for customers include giving away over 75,000 retractable clotheslines, handing out one free string of LED Christmas lights for every two incandescent strings returned, and a 10 per cent discount on summer electricity bills for residential customers who reduced their demand by 10 per cent from the previous summer; business customers get a 10 per cent credit on their summer electricity bills for a 10 per cent cut in energy consumed. (3,942)

Toyota Motor Manufacturing Canada Inc.

Automobile manufacture, Cambridge, Ont.
 • Has reduced its technology waste enough energy to power 65,000 homes each year.
 • Recently achieved its goal of zero waste to the landfill through extensive recycling, reuse, reducing and composting programs.
 • Sponsored a green roof at nearby Laurel Creek Nature Centre, which showcases the benefits of the technology such as reduced heating and cooling costs. (5,108)

University of Alberta

University, Edmonton
 • \$15 million energy management program that will save more than \$1.7 million in utility costs and reduce CO₂ emissions by 20,000 tonnes annually.
 • Sustainable cleaning practices include environmentally friendly cleaning chemicals.
 • Composting of organic kitchen waste in university dormitories to avoid landfills.
 • "Green dormitories" program encourages salvage and reuse of building materials during renovations and demolitions. (7,258)

Vancity Group

Financial services, Vancouver
 • Customers get discounted loan rates for



Toronto Hydro has handed out 75,000 retractable clotheslines to encourage customers to save energy in the summer

hybrid vehicles and energy-efficient home renovations; green building grant program is funded by profits from its credit card operations.
 • Carbon-neutral goal met through reduction in the company's greenhouse gas emissions combined with investments in climate-friendly projects to offset remaining emissions.
 • "Go the Carbon" campaign, in partnership with B.C. Hydro, challenges employees to reduce their office footprint and offers monthly prizes.
 • Half of employees use public transit or alternative transit, including carpooling and bicycling. Free showers at a local level of transit cars and step-on-bike bicycles when workers have to attend all-site meetings. (3,954)

Zerofootprint Inc.

Environmental consulting and software firm, Toronto
 • Free online carbon calculator lets kids and adults determine how many tonnes of carbon dioxide they produce in part of their day-to-day activities and helps to find ways to reduce their carbon footprint. (13)

—Compiled by Patricia Tremblay

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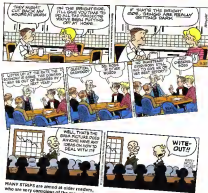
COMIC STRIP BOMBSHELL!!

They ignored Vietnam, 9/11 and Iraq but Archie, Blondie and Co. sure are worried about the economy

BY JAIME J. WEINMAN

media

It's the most surprising turn of events in comic strip history: Dagwood Bumstead in *Blondie* has been working the same generic white-collar job since the '40s, teaches boss, Mr. Dithers, just told him that "at the rate the economy is going this company might be out of business by next year." *Th and Lou* is a 55-year-old strip about a retired suburban family where the wife usually is in the kitchen, the husband does the housework, and nobody knows what the dad does for a living. But a recent strip had *Th* Haglund coming home and telling Lou that "there were a lot more layoffs at work today" and that he might lose his job, whatever that is. The owner of a record, Archie comics digital has Veronica telling Betty: "We're not just shopping, we're helping to stimulate the economy!" The strip strip *Don't Be Rude* managed to ignore Vietnam, Iraq and all the wars in between, and yet it showed the General standing in front of an emergency chest asking for advice on "the global peace." If you want to know how the recession is affecting us, don't look to political strips like *Dawson's*, look at *The Wizard of Id*, where the King pulled out the failed "concrete industry" but refused any money to help a small businessman. The crisis is so big that no comic-strip character can pretend it doesn't exist. Well, maybe Ziggy



Greg Wallace, one of the writers of *Grand Line* (created by his father, Mort Walker), told Maclean's that "we try to avoid jokes that would offend people. We go more for a warm, fuzzy approach." But in the last few months, he's been throwing in a few jokes that are anything but warm and fuzzy. A March 26 strip informed us that *Th* might get his hours cut back at work, and the parallelism was simply that he wasn't looking forward to the idea of spending more time at home. Other old comic-strip franchises are doing some really weak stuff based on the economic realities of our time. *Corky* did a series of strips about the latest

fashion recreation era: fashion: cheap-looking dresses that allow the wife character to show off how trendy she is. *Alfred*, a 27-year-old strip about a cynical baby who looks and acts like a humorless version of Garfield, recently took time off from dapper jokes to address the recession in the most depressing way possible, with Marvin's grandparents losing their retirement savings and their home in the stock market crash. Drabble, a long-running strip focusing on the adventures of a bald, bumbling, mid-aged father, usually sticks to jokes about how stupid his teenage son is. But now the hero, Ralph Drabble, has been so hard hit by

MANY STRIPS are aimed at older readers, who are very concerned about the recession.

media the recession, he announced to his wife that he'd have to take a second job (a sales position). Kevin Fagan, who created *Drabble* in 1979, told *Macworld* the timely release wasn't because of any outside pressure to get with the times. "I was not encouraged by my editor or my publisher to do any recession-related material," he explains. But the economy, he continues, "is such a given that I wondered how Ralph Drabble would be dealing with it. I decided to have him call on the other side of the security guard at a retirement home."

None of this is unusual for these strips, which try to keep their humor as non-partisan as possible. Even if cartoonists want to write about what's happening right now, they usually can't, because comic strips have to be finished long before any of us are there. My lead time is six weeks, too, for *Sunday* strips. I don't even think I know these strips will be as successful as the ones I'm reading, except for the *Calvin and Hobbes* and *Billings*, except for the *Captain and Jack* and *Real* strip like Pope or *Donatelli*, most comic strips are supposed to avoid current events. Whither says he'd do a gold-to-joke "as long as it doesn't take a particular side." So even when an event is in the news every day, these older strips tend to find with it in the most general possible fashion. Pages that after 9/11, he never missed it in the strip, and acknowledged it only by drawing "some people" or "some Americans" and Pugs on buses in the background. The *Calvin* strip was very broad in the months after. I didn't specifically mention 9/11, the days were just there."

The recession has changed that, and created weird dynamic: the old, un-hip types have seen to say about the ocean than the politically aware types. Domesticity isn't doing much recession related damage to the types, focusing instead on things like the economy's effect on their life. The types within the recession has hit the hard-core the ones that are about streets, while the old domestic suburbanites, like the Flagniers, the Dimbles and whatever Maer's family is named. And that makes a certain amount of sense. Domestic types may not deal with political and social issues, but a recession is never just an issue. It's something that directly affects the way people live, the way they spend money, and their feelings about the future. It's hard to see how the ocean really affects their life, but it can take the money out of their pocket. "The canyon of the ocean strips responsibility and familiarity," Walker says. In writing a comic strip, it's all about finding subject matter the reader can relate to.

What might make it even more import-



**CATHY'S
NOW
WEARING
CHEAP-
LOOKING
DRESSES**

for these things to do common harm to their many of them are stored in other orders. They're the ones who are still reading newspapers, not in mention the ones who are stronger, when *Shelter* was popular. These readers are very conscious of the reason and its threat to their savings and its investment plans. So when I found out that some of them were in *Whitaker* works in some agricultural the ones? "We did get several small complaints about a recent story that mentioned brutality as one cause of global warming," he says. Economic threats are just good because. Now that *Marx's* grandparents have been left dominated by the grandparents "over the other side of the border."

into *Happy Dumpys*™, it actually helps the strip deal with the changing demographics of newspaper readers: what started as a child-friendly strip about a baby is now aimed not at kids but at their parents and grandparents.

Still, doesn't it seem to turn in the funny page for being observant in the reason and how we got into it. The classic bit and Loti has come in several commentaries in a strip in which Mr. Concomitant becomes aware of the value of the media he uses in order to be some of the current, depressed state. Let's that how we got into this mess? his message son Chap says. An economist would probably discuss that that capital, use of the strip. But the purpose of a strip like this isn't to teach readers about the world, the purpose, Mr. Concomitant is "to find humor in the world, to explain it." He has always played the role of satirist for a different audience. Besides, it's not just the readers of this strip who have the reason on their minds all the time. "With so many newspapers going out of business," Pageau says, "there are many times for our readers, too."

STOP THE PRESSES... THE 90-YEAR-OLD MOUNTI

An elderly driver damaged the entrance of a Manhattan Times Towers just before lunchtime Wednesday after his foot slipped off the brake. The 90-year-old driver was backing up when he hit the building. Yesterday's Times & Transcript erroneously stated an RCHP car had caused the damage. The Times & Transcript regrets the error and apologizes to Cadogan RCHP for any confusion or embarrassment it has caused. *—Times Staff, March 27*



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JAMES FOX (left) plays Nathaniel Ayers, discovered an ideal new in L.A. by James Earl Ray, played by Robert Downey Jr. (right)

Writer discovers homeless virtuoso

'The Soloist' tells the story of a man who can't even watch the film that will make him a star

BY ARIAN E. JOHNSON—Sometimes a story takes on a life of its own, like a runaway slave in the hands of the coastal mariners. Three years ago, Los Angeles Times columnist Steve Lopez scribbled across a blue-lined, middle-aged schizophrenic on the third row who was drawing considerable more than a healthy salary with just two strings. The name was Nathaniel Ayres, and when Lopez discovered he'd once been a student at Phillips, he knew he had a story. But then, his column about Ayres appeared, the story didn't stop. Readers saw Lopez followed around in his car to Ayres. And the journalist found himself cast in a new, less profitable, angle, as a mission to save a damaged young person who'd been let down by society. A national paper grew More columns around, there's a bestselling book called *The Stranger*—and now a movie starring Jamie Foxx and Robert Downey Jr.

That's an incredible progression. A street artist ends up sleeping on the pavement and carries his entire world in an overstuffed shopping cart. He plays acrobatics for pigeons, sounds like aifi through the noisy teagone of the street, catch a journalist's ear, and end up generating a Hollywood movie. When a homeless man is turned into an entertainment property, it makes you wonder about the ethical line between salvation and exploitation. But that issue serves as a central theme in both the book and the film, which trace

carefully on terrain for which there's no real precedent. The movie *Shaw* (1996) comes to mind. But its real-life subject, mentally ill piano prodigy David Helfgott, was nowhere near as deviant or damaged as Ayers.

British Director Joe Wright, known for elegant period pieces like *Anna Karenina* and *Pride and Prejudice*, filmed *The Secret* on Austria's

interested in being deployed more closely"

Apres le tout, not "Amen" The festival, but he sat through twice his expected closing. "Atheism is a philosophy is constantly trying to deconstruct what we're used to and what we're not," explains Whig. "His ideas are so broad-based and so far-reaching that we filter out what's attached to every animal, every color, sound, color, and smell." The process of creating a moving image from 24 stills frames a second to give an active air, and something he finds difficult. Still, Ayres loved the film's music and pronounced it "a good Nathaniel." The actor spent months studying for the role, but rightly interprets one of his offing endless of Nathaniel's (you'll like dialogue).

The drama revolves around Lopez's first acting mission to get Ayers out of the street and to script a routine a downtown theater, where he can practice the skills he's been given. He's also taken into play from the Los Angeles Philharmonic Ayers, now age 55 and living in that shelter, is making money from the movie, which is going to a star fund held by his wife. We do feel sorry for Ayers, but the heartless community, and its uncomprehending youth, "Make it all be over soon," says Whigley. "He got up in the morning, decides where he's going today [the day, which means he'll be gay, and he goes and plays in it]. The even if he's going south, onto the movie, comes another night has to go and see Ayers may well become America's first black gay celebrity."

WE'RE STALKING... SUB CRUISE

The daughter of Tom Cruise and Kiefer Sutherland is going to get the best education possible, and it's the most expensive and the most hectic. A gossip paper says the upbringing of Hollywood royalty is taking ballet and tap-dance lessons, learning to speak French and Spanish, trying out gymnastics and learning soccer. Cruise, who believes Sam is gifted, is said to be spending US\$1 million on Sam's education. But is it all too soon?



FASHIONED BY CRACK-COLOURED LEATHER, WITH POCKETS FOR CIGARETTES AND A PHONE, THIS BROWNSTOWN CANTEN CORNER COULD DOUBLE AS A PURSE

Grandpa's canteen now costs \$150

A new must-have for the stylish eco-warrior: a water bottle modelled on a U.S. Army classic

BY NANCY MACDONALD • For most business, the windfall is a happy accident. Just yesterday, it wasn't. Your cool, cylindrical bottles represented the height of sophistication. U.S.'s glacial demand for 600 water, and the 175 handcrafted bottles sold in the U.S. included Canteen Corner, bottled water for dogs. But as we sat out about consumer excess and carbon emissions, zip has come roaring back. In 1998, for the first time in years, Canteen Corner's sales, Coca-Cola and Nestlé—which powered double-digit growth every year from 2002 to 2007—reported tiny sales in North America. One first-market leader, Agilent was down a staggering 14 per cent.

But sales slipped since then, they shrug open a window. A brand-new Manhattan-based start-up, eco-warrior, founded by New York-based entrepreneurs Victoria Minkin and Peter Bailey, is offering the eco geek a big alternative to carbonated bottles. Like Skeg, Switzerland's iconic old, retro-style aluminum bottle maker—whose sales have surged past the \$400 million mark, up from roughly \$1 million a few years ago—eco-warrior turned to a past classic for inspiration: the U.S. Army's iconic canteen. Minkin's 2010 canteen, replaced in 1992 by the silver-green polycarbonate plastic version used in Vietnam and thereafter. Their ads on the New York Times website and on MySpace (where they were posted at a younger audience) featured hip, natural-looking models carrying essential finds as hidden assets as if they're taking Julia Roberts to the beach.

When Minkin and Bailey decided to launch the company, growing green awareness, a softening economy and consumer fears about plastic bottles containing BPA had a view

already creating the perfect storm: conditions for makers of stainless steel and aluminum reusable bottles. The pair's unique version was born when Bailey showed up one day, 15 months ago, with his dad's beat-up, army issue canteen. "Do you think this could work as a water bottle?" he asked Minkin. Long-time business partners who share an interest in design and the environment, they were looking for a small venture, having sold their \$1-billion electronic payment company. Only if made to look "rifle enough," they decided, and devoted the next 16 months to "redesigning, retooling, and making it slicker."

They hired the son of the 100-year-old design—contemporary, plastic version sold at Army Surplus for \$4.99—and considered the grand old can be found on eBay for roughly \$15 to a more portable 25 ounces. Made from radical-grade stainless steel, the vintage canteen, whose first shipment went out six weeks ago, has been polished to a mirror-like finish. With a pouch tied to a BlackBerry or iPhone and a zippered pocket for cash and credit cards, its carrying case is being marketed to both men and women. (Because of their nostalgic appeal, they're also among them as parents sending children off to summer camp.) The canteen itself costs \$59.95. Their top-selling canteen unit—corner cut, the Corso, priced at \$139.95,

features a bag covered in black, cream, khaki or orange canvas with leather piping, and adheres most closely to the original army canteen, which was lined in canvas and grey wool. It has a "gusseted, zero leak" that appeals to men, says Minkin, "but we sell lots and lots to women." The Browstown, a canteen encased in crack-colored leather, will apparently run up \$169.95.

To establish the brand, Minkin and Bailey selected instead, high-end U.S. department stores and their live-in boutiques in retail partners. That's the economics cross-deepened over the summer and fall, that plan "went out the window," says Minkin. Shops who'd initially said "we love it, we love it, we love it," came back and said they didn't have the budget, or weren't able to buy products with such a track record. "If anything at all," so they went online—a decision that put high-end eco-warrior designers in a "broader range of potential customers" than the specialty niche market found at high-end boutiques, says Minkin. And because their margins are strategic, it's allowed them to drop their prices, she says—admitting that a lot of customers would have balked at the initial retail cost.

The canteens are eco-friendly without "disturbing you over the back of the green message," says Minkin. The big design, of course, is one way to lure consumers about the eco message. And in the end they do (as the real for water consumption) ■



WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT A SAPHIRE TWO-BRATER
A new Sapphire fighter plane from the Second World War is expected to sell for \$2.8 million at auction. Rescued from a Cape Town junkyard after surviving the war, the plane is being sold for \$2.8 million. The plane was converted to carry two people and served as a trainer aircraft. In 1944, the Sapphire is currently, and like its brethren, it is still in the air. It is a "homeless angel" (title role of \$2.8 million per minute).

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW T. BROWN

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ALL THE RIGHT couples end up together," says author Seth Grahame-Smith. "But the wicked are punished much more severely."

Mr. Darcy, Miss Bennet and zombies

In the most novel adaptation yet of Austen, the ladies and their suitors hattle the undead

BY BRIAN KETTER • "It is a truly wonderful achievement that a zombie in possession of a brain must be at least of average brains." It's not every literary DJ who would want to reimagine one of the most beloved opening sentences in English literature. *Pride and Prejudice* she's elegantly phrasing about the common notion that "a single man in possession of a good fortune must be in want of a wife." Especially since Seth Grahame-Smith's surprisingly graceful mash-up of Jane Austen's 1813 novel and George Romero's equally classic (in its own peculiar way) 1968 zombie film, *Night of the Living Dead*, does retain some 80 per cent of Austen's original text. And the author was working in an already crowded field, and he had a certain score—both literary and cinematic—to set right at the top.

Pride and Prejudice and Zombies is, indeed, only the latest, if partial, take on the most adapted novel in history. There are more or less straight-up film and TV versions of Austen's notoriously funny tale of marriage, money and the five Bennet girls. That's before reimagining *Elizabeth Bennet* as *Bollywood's Bride and Prejudice*. Or the entire feminist anti-gone of utopian modern women showing over Austen's early society in rural England. Depending on the level of fantasy involved, the women in these stories can play out their dramas as an Austen rogue may or actually end up in Austen-era England. And in one (far) better BBC production, *Lost in Austen* (2008), a 21st-century Londoner switches places with Elizabeth Bennet—an Austen character—allowing the girl to do what she really wants: write romances here in the world of *Pride and Prejudice*. Clearly, Austen's novel still resonates with women.

But Grahame-Smith takes a little blood and

action right off the bat: "I hope the addition of zombies, magic and youth will bring more male readers to the Austenverse," says the 35-year-old L.A. writer. That wasn't the true, though. He didn't actually have an agent, just a title—which ended up sticking to the project like a blood splatter on Regency wall paper—and a six-week deadline. "My friend Jason McLehman, who's a producer, had been using it as a mash-up for years. He was always making fun in college—classes like *Wired* or *Primer* or *Whithering Heights* as one title, and the sci-fi books, horror, pulp mystery, or the other. And he'd draw lines between them. A year ago he phoned me, all excited: 'I got it! *Laura—Pride and Prejudice with zombies!*'"

Horror fans here to be proved headed to places than Austenites. Writer Cory Doctorow thanks there isn't enough brain-reading. "Too much Austen, and not enough zombies," he accurately concluded. (That may not surprise well: In Grahame-Smith's two intertwined sequels, starting with *Abraham Lincoln: Vampire Hunter*.) Not everyone is charmed on the other side either. "Eighty-five per cent *Austen*, 15 per cent television writer named Seth Grahame-Smith, and 100 per cent terrible," bellowed *The New York Times*. But many an Austen devotee is willing to give it a chance, now that critics recognize the visually funny retext streak in an author once thought meek and

mild. "Austen's novels are sort of acid bats" for the characters, says one admirer. So why shouldn't *Lucy Bennett*, that adobe-adobe waitress with a sharp tongue, become an independent woman with a sharp bite?

Grahame-Smith helps his cause too, by doing the mystery of Austen's style and the sometimes why he adds his input. The infamous Darcy, for instance, is at first approved of by all who meet him. "Hiding, tall person, handsome features, noble mind, and the open, which was a general circulation within five minutes after his entrance, of his having to open a year." Once Austen had a, Grahame-Smith is with her right up to the last clause, which he modifies, "of his having daughtered more than a few commentators since the fall of Cambridge." Respect for Austen's beloved text is followed through to the end. "All the right couples end up together," the author says reassuringly, before adding, with evident misad, "but the wicked are punished much more severely than in the original."

In fact, Grahame-Smith's book may seem quite like Michael Chabon's novel, *Just a Little Bit of Magic*, arrives at 2010. In it Austen turns into a vampire who spends her immortal life running a bookshop until, chased with rage over all the writers and publishers coming money off her work, she starts drifting stakes through their hearts. After that, there will be zombies to go but to the time and a story pricing Jane Austen against her over-revered, *Lucy Bennett*, take your second. ■



FINALLY, A BOOK ABOUT... BIBLICAL PUNNY BITS

The greatest story ever told gets a lot of modern contemporary in Jonathan Goldstein's *Cadric and Golemides, The Bible* (Penguin). It's just the book for anyone who's ever wondered how Joseph ever explained Mary's pregnancy to the guys at work, what Cain really thought about murdering the earth at those centuries, or how the largest garden call dealer in the Bible coped with Moses.

Erin and Mike in the morning.

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help

MUSLIM TEENAGERS are encouraged to speak up and correct misinformation instead of sitting quietly when their culture is misrepresented

What's a Muslim teenager to do?

A handbook offers advice on dating, fasting, and misinformed classmates and teachers

BY JULIA MCKINNEILL If being a teenager is hard, say a teen Muslim in North America puts it this way: why a mother and her two kids have come up with *The Muslim Teenager's Handbook*. The authors are Dilara Huda, her daughter Yasmin, 18, a freshman at Yale, and her son Imran, 15. Their book offers advice on topics such as how to settle up a conversation with Jews and Christians, and how to explain to classmates that when you skip lunch for a month, it's not a diet, you're on a spiritual fast for Ramadan.

"Ninety-nine per cent of the hateful comments we're based on aren't true," writes Dilara in an e-mail. "Are based on misconceptions about the beliefs of Islam. Some people still think that Muslims worship a different god called Allah—incorrect. Allah is the Arabic word for God. Muslims worship the God of Abraham, Jesus and Moses." For small talk, the book suggests, "You can't argue if you start a conversation about Noah—the poor Jews boom, right?"

The book explains that Ramadan is a month-long fast held during daylight hours. "A successful fast includes not only giving up food and drink [ya, that includes gum and water], but also the cessation of all bad habits such as gossiping and angry words due to impatience."

Agreeable: "You've had an argument of your own before, remember some other Muslim students who are fasting during Ramadan? You ask your principal to make an announcement over the PA explaining Ramadan, by telling the bullies that they should try fasting to lose some of the unnecessary fat that is clogging up their brains—then rant, c) proceed the rules of Ramadan and apply to you while you show down to the cafeteria with your

Inside Answer: a) talk to the principal. Some Muslim teens wonder during Ramadan, "Am I allowed to swallow spit, brush my teeth, or rinse my mouth while fasting?" Answer: "Please do!" until the author. "While some people feel strongly about these issues, we cannot stress it as a rule. God knows what your intentions are. Don't stress if you accidentally swallow some water while brushing your teeth."

Other questions include: Is it okay to go to a party to speak up and correct misinformation rather than to be a bystander? The book asks, "When your geography teacher mispronounces Pakistan as a city in Iraq, you should lower in your class and pretend to be fascinated by the summer of your book. b) tentatively when you're in your class, I think the answer is in South America or somewhere over there." c) It's actually worse your friend in the art or correct the error. The book says the right answer is b). "Or if you're feeling really bad, wave your hand in the air."

The Quran prohibits alcohol and any amount that "clouds your mind and draws you away from the remembrance of God." So, "how do you handle this restriction in an atmosphere where most people around you are drinking?" A question is it okay to drink? **Be brief:** Answer: "Beer is beer; avoid it. It tastes terrible, it's full of calories and will make

you fat and drunk if you drink too much." Try water or soda or fruit juice. "And you'll always be popular as the designated driver."

On the topic of dating, 17-year-old Imran writes in an e-mail, "I'm not allowed to date, not because religion forbids it, but because my parents do." "It is to be honest," he says, "I'm not exactly sure how I feel about it. Things are quite different than they were at the time of the founding of Islam where most of the world got married earlier because life expectancy was shorter. Nowadays, the social norm is to marry later—but the genetic hormones are still here." The book says, "Dating should be viewed as a preliminary step to marriage. If you're not ready to marry, then don't date." But dating "in an all-endeavourful environment is definitely okay."

After 9/11, Imran comments on his classmates' refusal to let him play pickup soccer because they thought a Muslim was a member of the Taliban. "How do you respond if someone you know tells you that Islam is a religion that encourages violence?" the book asks. "The obvious one: Who exactly protest (proclaiming of course)? Don't keep quiet just so that could imply agreement. You can try telling the bullies, 'Stop gassing down the Ramadan', but the best approach is to make the rest of your own life by proving them wrong."

On the other hand, "if someone tells you you're not Muslim enough, tell them you're most concerned about God's opinion, not them." ■



MOST IMPROVED: MICHAEL PHELPS

With the recent embarrassment of being photographed with a bong now behind him, the Olympic swimmer was out in the limelight in New York City last week. Although the news was not quite as positive as the one Phelps stirred up there. It was that he had lost a bottle of grey diesel engine oil and made out with his girlfriend. He also introduced himself to college basketball star Hasheem Thabeet, who had no idea who Phelps was.



IF ONLY At Live 8, Edinburgh: He's recently been criticized for moving some of U2's business interests from Ireland to the Netherlands

What Bono says and what he does

There's a well-documented reason the do-gooder can't put his money where his mouth is



MARK STEYN

So why is he sending his money to the Netherlands? From the Irish Times:

"Bono 'Hurt' By Critics Of U2 Move To Netherlands To Cut Tax."

U2 have, in fact, moved to the Netherlands. You won't find them banking outside downtown Rocknroll managers of a Friday night. But they did move some of their business from the Emerald Isle to the Low Countries. From the Times of London: "Bono Hits Back Over Tax Dodging Claims."

Actually, he didn't really "hit back" except to the modest way, protesting that there was nothing "hypocritical" about being an "activist" and taking advantage of favorable "financial services" arrangements in the Netherlands and that, in any case U2 "pay millions and millions of dollars in tax." Hey, to what? Any old Hollisterian member better pil of Dick Cheney can make the same claim, paying "millions and millions" cents for nothing when you're supposed to be paying millions and millions and millions and millions "From the Belfast Telegraph."

"U2 Foundation Bono's Tax Avoidance 'Depressing Point'."

According to Nuala Ni Chiosáil of the Debt and Development Coalition Ireland, U2 has consciously deprived the Irish exchequer of revenue needed for overseas aid. "While Bono has championed the cause of fighting poverty

and ignorance in the impoverished world," said Miss Ni Chiosáil, "the fact is that he has had his money put in a business in a tax shelter in the Netherlands. Tax avoidance and tax evasion costs the impoverished world at least 150 million U.S. dollars every year."

Oh, come on. I don't "lose" the "impoverished world" anything. It's Bono's money, not theirs. And who's to say, even if he did give it to the government, that they'd stick it in the mud to some Afri-Mercat kleptocrat as opposed to squandering it closer to home? I'm with the U2 lads on this. I think the overarching lesson knows better how to spend their dough than the state does. I'm entirely sympathetic to the mad wish of Tim

why-Godwin and the other Axis tax defrauders of President Obama's administration not to turn one more penny that the absolute minimum into the gross reckoning of the government treasury.

Unfortunately, that's not an argument a celebrity "activist" like Bono can easily make. So his "activist" band's consisted mostly of singing rock while the Bono spokesperson that U2's led, moved outside the Department of Finance in Dublin signed his own version of U2's I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For—i.e., a jurisdiction with zero per cent tax rates for billionaire rock stars. U2 had actually moved to the Netherlands a couple of years back, about 17 months after the Irish finance minister removed the tax exemption on "artistic" income where 250,000 euros. This was around about the time of Bono's Live 8 tour. Africa—own costs, making rock gigs, but the world was too busy looking Against Back to pay any attention. It's only in the last few

weeks that districts and NGOs and "justice groups" have decided to make an example of the understate warbler.

But here's my question instead of arguing whether U2 Ltd. should be based in Dublin or Amsterdam, why not move it to Africa? After all, it's essentially a licensing operation, so it doesn't have any physical product to warehouse or ship other than the occasional PDF or MP3. All you need is a phone line and a computer. Or, at the very least, why doesn't Bono outsource U2 Ltd.'s tax preparation to Africa? With the assistance of the Treasury, Bono's accountants started mugging up on Steins and Scheide C and the other salient features of the U.S. tax code and have managed to snuff a percentage of the American tax filing between away from IRS K. Rock. Why couldn't it have been open up a small account

MADONNA CRIES 'START A REVOLUTION.' LIKE AFRICA HASN'T HAD ENOUGH OF THOSE?

may firm in Bengal or Bismarck? If he's an eager solely Africa, wouldn't that be a great use of confidence?

Well, yes. But it's not going to happen. Each year, the World Bank ranks nations by the ease with which one can start a business. The global top 10 includes countries you'd expect to find there—New Zealand, Australia, Russia, and even Canada—but also a couple of territories that a generation or two back you wouldn't have: Singapore, Hong Kong. Of the bottom 30 on the list, nine are Africa. To start a business in Singapore involves getting over four bureaucratic hurdles, takes four days and costs 0.7 per cent of income per capita. To start a business in Canada takes one hurdle, five days and 0.5 per cent of income per capita. To start a business in the Democratic Republic of Congo takes 15 bur-



MADONNA, sorry enough in headquarters her business interests in the U.S. and the U.K., huge Ellen DeGeneres, of E! Music, at Live 8, London

den, six days and 0.14 per cent of income per capita. That's why U2 Ltd. isn't going to be relocating to Kandana any time soon.

There is nothing unprecedented about any of this, in fact, what was the Belgian Congo had higher GDP per capita (this before Obama or Walla). But today it's hardly the last place in the world you'd want to start a business. Well, okay, a big chunk of the Congo's been a war-torn hellhole for the last decade. So what about, say, Guinea-Bissau? Starting a business there requires overcoming 17 government hurdles, takes 213 days and costs \$277 per cent of income per capita. Which is why Bono can't put his money where his mouth is.

A quarter century ago at Live Aid, Bob Geldof stood on the stage of Wembley Stadium and bellowed at the developed world: "Give us your richest money!" By the time of Live 8 in 2005, the message had evolved: the rich were no longer donating their money, only that it was run-based our governments to give more "aid" in Africa. In the new book, the Zimbabwean economist actually, none of an oversold hotel Doreen Hony takes out at the Bob and Sir Bono beginning with the very talented Aida! Government to government aid, says Miss Moyn, all but guarantee corruption and bankruptcy. A country that seeks proper business environment will be accountable to the global markets, a country that not public relations firms runs will be vulnerable to its own citizens. But a government that gets "aid" from other governments accountable to no one and nothing, and decides of easy money that make will absorbed Western da goodness that used to exist elsewhere have debauched the political culture of a continent.

Which is why so much of the criticism had been leveled on Africa since the earliest days of decolonization has wound up this week's parade at Live 8's Swahili bank account while the conditions for democracy: wealth generation improve not a whit.

But lowering the obstacles to business for starters on the Comp-Don't have the right

that only led to more posturing. Don't on the face of it, listening to a bunch of lecherous old rodents claiming their money they would sweat an unlikely way to end poverty in the world, but it does involve one of having to think about Africa—or even about which bits of "Africa" work (Mozambique) and which don't (Somalia), and why. The famous Niall Ferguson, who wrote the critical review to *Dead Aid*, says that he would "wanting a lot more Moyn, and a lot less Bono." And, as much as any policy the purposes, it is his message to the bedridden light of our pampered soul seems to have driven his his maintain an anti-profit group to launch multiple if somewhat obscure insinuations on Miss Moyn.

I have already rock stars—not for their "music," which is mostly glorified, but for their business acumen, which usually rock. Sir Paul McCartney owns the publishing rights to *Give It Up* by David Bowie was the first singer to hold a bond offering in his back catalog and had 155 million worth of Bowie "Class A" royalty-backed notes" swapped up as something that Moyn's gave them that much better angle. Amazingly, Madonna (even up with a book of mad photographs featuring such troubling sights as her naked but not propped up like a novelty sitcom, and then decides to release her literary career with some top-selling children's books, but, other way, is sorry enough to headquarter her business interests in the United States and United Kingdom.

Yet ask her to help Africa and she shrinks up on stage, as she did at Live 8, and urges people to "start a revolution." Live Africa hasn't had enough of those last half-century? You can run a farm or factory in relatively primitive societies. But the protection of intellectual property—of products at times as new words and concepts and governments the most evolved form of capitalist society. The antirevolution is the last people who want a revolution. Africa should do as Bono does, not as he says. ■

MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS

COMPILED BY BRAD STEPHENSON
Updated 11/11/11

Fiction

1	THE WINTER VALLEY by Jane Smiley	100
2	THE SUNDAY LITERARY AND POTATO ROLL THE SOCIETY by Mary Ann Dyer and Anne Barrows	100
3	THE BROTHERS by John Grisham	100
4	GOING AWAY by Mark Galloway	100
5	EVERY MAN DIES ALONE by Hans Holbein	100
6	THE GIRL WITH THE DRAGON TATTOO by Stieg Larsson	100
7	THE KIDNEY CHIEF by Michael Crichton	100
8	THE GUNSHOTS SAVES THE WORLD by Alexander McCall Smith	100
9	LOWDOWN by John Grisham	100
10	THE BILLION CLUB by Jason Grout	100

Non-fiction

1	THE CELLO BIRTHS by Eric Selzer	100
2	NOT YET by William Craig	100
3	ALWAYS LOOKING UP by Michael J. Fox	100
4	OUTLINES by Nicholas Glendon	100
5	A LION CALLED CHRISTIAN by Anthony Browne and John Rendell	100
6	STERNEN LEAGUE by Margaret MacLennan	100
7	POOD HATTER by Mark B. Berman	100
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ROGERS

MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL

These fiscally prudent celebs are killing us!



SCOTT PERCHUK

We knew this recession thing was bad, but we didn't know how bad until now when it's from the faade of America that Nicolas Cage had been forced for financial reasons to sell his 20-year German castle, Neidberg. Et tu, economy?

While it's true that Cage still owns several other homes and could, in a pinch, build a spacious bungalow from reclaimed wood DVDs of *Boogaloo* (Dangreese), the fact remains that this big-time celebrity is now in possession of only one (1) estate castle—Mallard, an 18th-century fortress in England.

This is tragic, news and I'm sure you're tempted to feel sorry for Cage. We all know what it feels like to be down to our last coin.

But I am here to make the unpopular position of saying: don't do it. Don't feel sorry for Nicolas Cage. Don't let your heart go out to a celebrity who has built vast reserves of wealth by acting in a number of quality movies and also about on other movies.

Don't shed a tear for Nicolas Cage—because the truth is, Nicolas Cage and his ilk are on the handily responsible for keeping us in recession and delaying our recovery.

That's right. I said it: *they* are the ones who are keeping us in it.

As someone who was trained as an economist in the three B's of economics (because I can't do it as a summary freshman, let me pose to you a question: for our world to exist must be a mostly miserable place, which two words must never, ever be associated with Hollywood actors? Answer: financial prudence.) For partial credit, I will also accept "recording contract" and, as a prize to those of *Don't* (or *Don't*), "photographed naked.")

Cage and other money-minded celebrities appear to have forgotten the terms of the social contract upon which their fame was granted: we bestow vast wealth on celebrities—and celebrities pay it away. That keeps the econ-

omy strong. It allows the hard-working masses to enjoy our indoor thick walls and demand extravagant tastes to feed their fancies.

The role of the celebrity is to live lavishly, dress lavishly and, above all, spend lavishly. According to government figures, a full 13 per cent of the U.S.'s 2007 GDP could be traced directly to Paris Hilton's Armani. And sure, China's economy on the rise—but even today the combined spending power of U.S.

and/or Singaporean circumstances, and then rebalanced gold. You don't have the power to reassign domestic automotive manufacturing by driving expensive new sports cars into long-term while associated. And sure, it's nice to live expensive, but do you really want your children to grow up in a world where famous people don't spend directly into a \$2,600 economy? Not now. Not the time to downsize. Not now.



What's next for Diddy? Using a low-flow faucet when showering in champagne?

Hilton Chinese cannot match the economic impact of a single Lindsay Lohan bar.

Also, too many celebrities are now doing their own thing. Take Diddy, for example. First he stopped drinking his private jet because the fuel was costing too much. Then he cut back on his purchases of his work and chose to use his "don't mess with this" as a time of recreation. What's next—using a low-flow faucet when showering in champagne?

Across Hollywood, celebrities are shopping the sales and turning away from pricey designer boutiques in favour of Target and the Gap. They're even cutting back on plastic surgery (Gwyneth, no more I'm broke and I have to look at wrinkles on Tim Blanche). Thanks a lot, recession. Some are taking austerity to unprecedented extremes. Just last month, Lisa Lesonsky was the same out-of-control consecutive winner. WHY DO YOU HATE AMERICA, LISA LONGHILL?

Celebrities of the United States are your country's greatest and possibly only remaining economic asset. Your desires, perceptions and attitudes are all the stimulus plan the world needs.

Your homes and castles don't exist to be sold—they exist to be burned to the ground

your agent, your manager, your publicist. Your drug dealer, your psychiatrist, your hairdresser.

We've never tried to tell you how to waste your money, and we don't want to start now. You can't spend it on lawyers to get out of that arrest or you can spend it on lawyers to get off on having romantic stress. The point is that you need to spend, and spend lavishly, and spend now. You need to spend like Jennifer Aniston.

Consider her herculean selflessness and sacrifice: during a recent trip to Europe to infect the film *Marley* (she is an unpaid agent for entertainment), Aniston brought along her personal laundry list. The total tab for the week, including accommodations, flight and hair-based work? \$10,000.

That's right: \$10,000. Fifty thousand dollars to make Jennifer Aniston's hair look like it's looked for the last 25 years. That's a terrible investment in Aniston's financial future—but it's a great investment in getting America and the world back on track. #

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SCOTT PERCHUK



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